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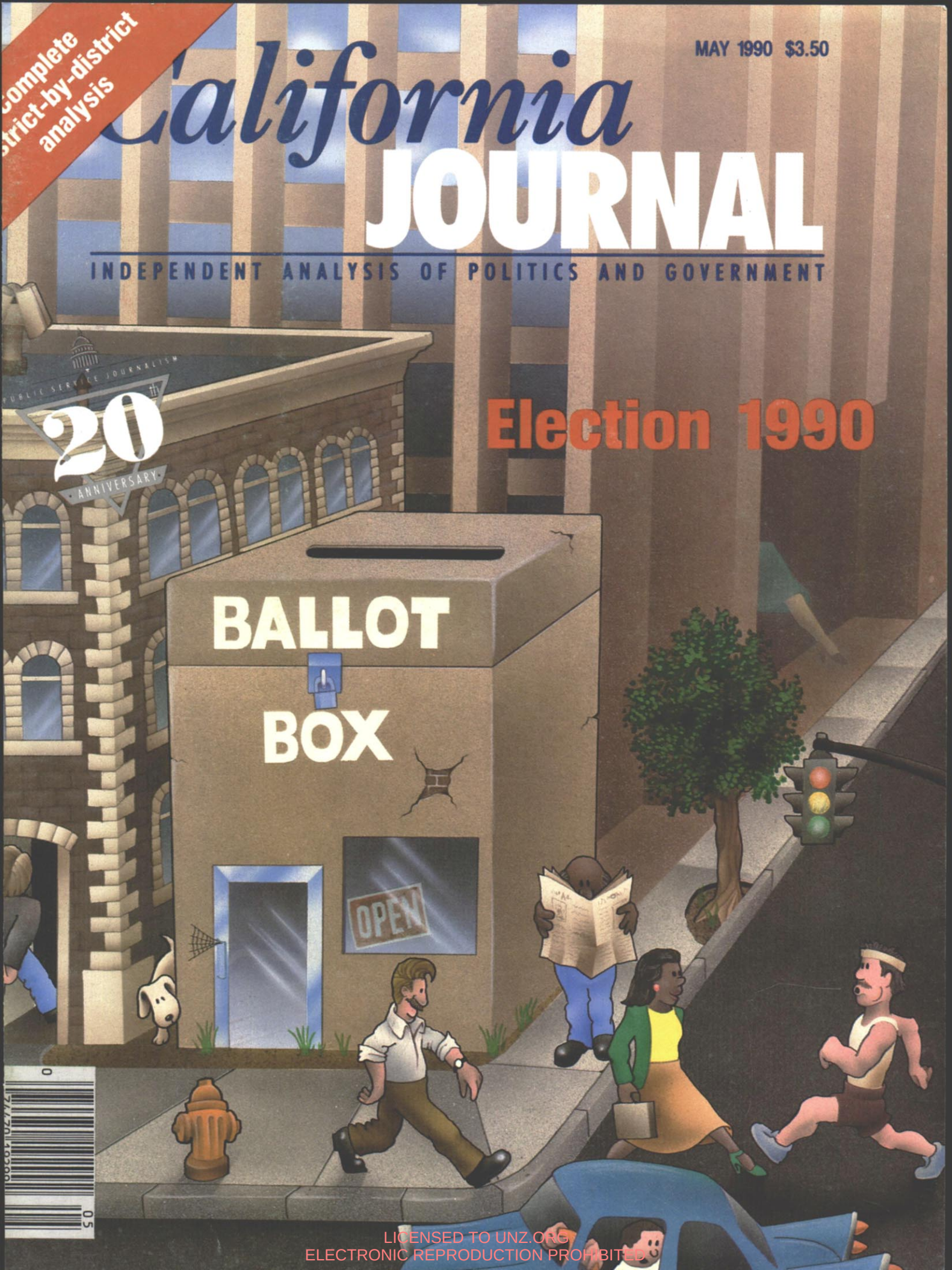

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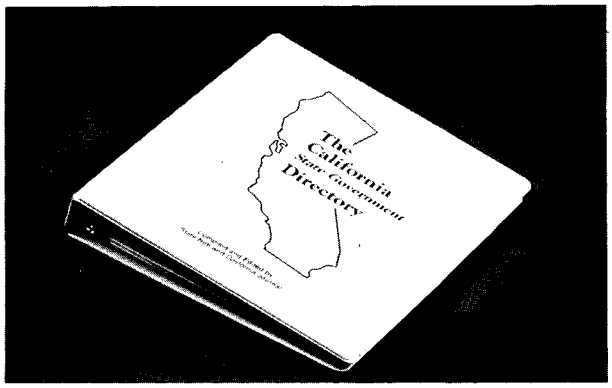

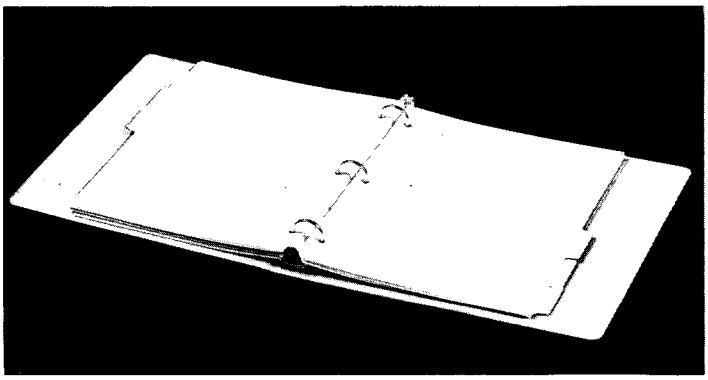

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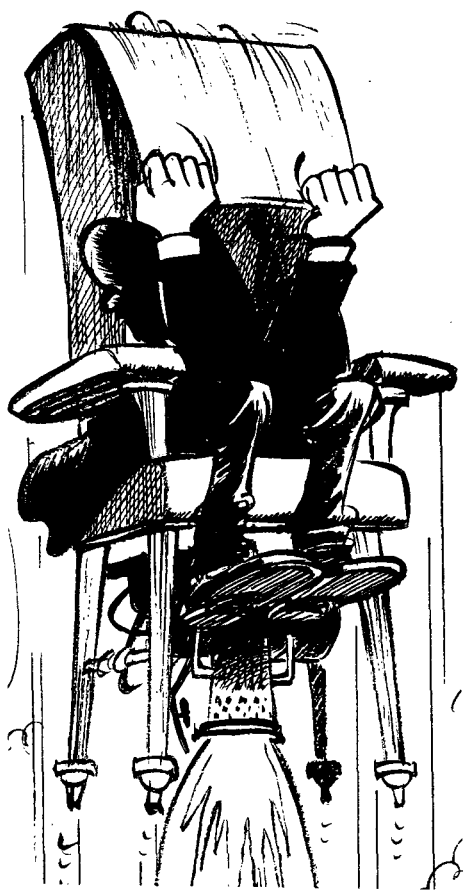

Election '90

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UP FRONT

Chutzpa of the season award. To Lionel Allen, Democratic candidate for Congress from the 29th District. Allen is no stranger to congressional races. He's run before. Many times before. In many different districts. Usually as a Republican. And usually, he's been trounced. But this time around, things could be different. It's a wide-open primary because incumbent Gus Hawkins is retiring after 28 years in the House. Sure, we know; political dynamo Maxine Waters is running in the same primary. But Waters lags far behind Allen when it comes to putting together a winning campaign team. It's all explained in an Allen brochure: "Lionel Allen has clout ... It is said that a man can be judged by the company he keeps, well Lionel Allen has been in great company continually over the years as evidenced by the pictures shown below."

Then, a headline: "Join the winning team."

Who is on Allen's "winning team?" Paula Abdul, Candice Bergen, Chuck Norris, Eddie Levert, Magic Johnson, Tom Bradley, Herbie Hancock, Dick Clark, Tom Cruise, Thomas Hearns, Michael Douglas, Kenny Rogers, Don Johnson, Bruce Willis, Julian Dixon and Speaker Willie Brown Jr.

The speaker denies he's on Allen's team. He insists he's backing longtime friend and ally Waters. But, hey, would a campaign brochure lie? I mean, there are all these pictures.

Follow-up department. Last month we ran a story about the squabbles that have wracked People's Advocate, the organization founded by and run by Paul Gann until his death in September 1989 (see "The Gann legacy," *CJ*, April 1990). In that story, we reported that Gann's widow, Nell, and his daughter, Linda Gann Stone, had been removed from the People's Advocate board of directors. But last month a Sacramento Superior Court judge reinstated the Ganns. Losers in the ruling were other members of that board, including Sacramento developer Dan Benevenuti and Gann's longtime associate, Ted Costa.

And in case you missed it, the Los Angeles — nee Oakland, perhaps Irwindale, almost Sacramento — Raiders

finally decided to move back to Oakland (see "Sports mania," *CJ*, November 1989). In early March, Raiders managing general partner Al Davis awarded himself to Oakland following a protracted bidding war among four California cities: Los Angeles, Irwindale, Oakland and Sacramento.

But the announcement was barely out of Davis' mouth when opposition surfaced in Oakland. Mayoral candidate Wilson Riles Jr., among others, lambasted the deal, saying Oakland had too many pressing problems to risk nearly $500 million on a football team. And opponents of the deal rushed petitions into circulation aimed at placing a referendum on the Raiders before the public in November. The Raiders indicated they would pull out should a referendum qualify, and when it became apparent that opponents had the 20,000 signatures needed to get on the ballot, city officials declared the deal dead.

Worry not about the Raiders. They won't soon join the state's legion of homeless. They've renewed negotiations with Los Angeles and the Los Angeles Coliseum Commission over renovation of that venerable sports arena. And there's always Irwindale and Sacramento. Right, Al?

Mea culpa(s). Last month's story on ethics in government (see "The ethics jungle," *CJ*, April 1990) reported that Republican Assemblyman John Lewis had been convicted of forging former President Ronald Reagan's signature on campaign letters, and that the conviction had been overturned because the action did not meet legal definitions of forgery. Actually, Lewis was not convicted of forgery. He was indicted for forgery, but the indictment was thrown out by an appellate court because Lewis did not intend to defraud anyone of money or property.

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Schabarum bails out

Surprise exit stiffs wanna-bes

By Tom Waldman

Sarah Flores kept late hours March 8th, updating the extensive data base of cities maintained by her boss, Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum. Flores, Schabarum's chief deputy, had to finish the job that Thursday night. She was planning to leave the next afternoon with her husband, her youngest daughter, and 200 girl scouts and their parents on an outing to the mountains. For Flores, it would be a rare weekend given entirely to family.

So she assumed. But Saturday morning, between breakfast and archery, her husband went to the local store and bought a newspaper bearing the headline that Schabarum, who had been on the Board of Supervisors for 18 years, would not seek re-election.

"I looked at it and thought, '*What*?' " she said. Flores, bitter that Schabarum had kept his plans secret, was consoled by the other parents on the trip, who became instant political consultants and urged her to seek the seat. She thanked them, but there were duties at hand: "I concentrated on clearing horse manure, cleaning the rabbit cages ..."

The campaign to replace Schabarum is unusual. In a region crawling with ambitious politicians, Schabarum's eleventh-hour decision has opened the field to candidates who for the most part are known only to family, friends and local operatives. The lateness of Schabarum's announcement froze out most of those already holding elected office, since they had already filed for reelection and by law could not switch.

As a group, the 10 people who filed for the June primary have spent more time working on campaigns than waging them. Now they have entered a race where it's predicted that the winner will need to raise $500,000; more than $1 million in the event of a No-

Tom Waldman is a freelance writer from Los Angeles and a frequent contributor to California Journal.

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vember run-off. If the Board of Supervisors is the major league — with each member representing approximately 1.8 million constituents and administering a total annual budget of $9.1 billion — the case can be made that this field of candidates is trying to make the jump from Double A. It is a chance to acquire power in a flash. Only Jim Lloyd, who served six years in the House of Representatives, qualifies as a veteran, and he has not run for anything since the Spring of 1982 when he lost to Esteban Torres in the 34th Congressional District Democratic primary.

With his surprise decision, Schabarum has thrown Los Angeles County politics into further turmoil. The five supervisors already face a civil-rights lawsuit accusing them of discriminating against Latinos in redistricting. The settlement of that suit could result in redrawn lines and a different look to the board. Leading Latino politicians in South-

Schabarum

Flores

ern California — Congressman Esteban Torres, state Senator Art Torres, Los Angeles Councilman Richard Alatorre — have all talked about vying for a new supervisorial seat.

Schabarum's sudden move effectively kept these people from running in his San Gabriel Valley district, which today has a large Latino constituency. Esteban Torres, for one, with perhaps a couple of hours to make up his mind, opted to stick with Congress. George Pla — a businessman and campaign manager for Esteban Torres, Alatorre and others — is not concerned. He has said whoever immediately replaces Schabarum should prepare for a brief reign because the suit will surely be successful, changing the entire map.

Tell it to Flores, Lloyd, Nell Soto, or Gregory O'Brien Jr. Although a race minus a name is inherently unpredictable, these four are given the best chance to win. Flores' supporters point out that she is Latino, knows the district extremely well — having spent 18 years on Schabarum's staff — and was endorsed by Supervisors Deane Dana and Mike Antonovich. Lloyd has name recognition, such as it is, and his campaign is being run by friend and long-time political consultant Joe Cerrell. O'Brien was endorsed by Schabarum and has many powerful Republican connections living in wealthy suburbs such as Glendora, San Dimas and Arcadia, which should enable him to raise the most money. And Soto is the top Democratic contender in a district where Republicans are outnumbered by 50,000 voters.

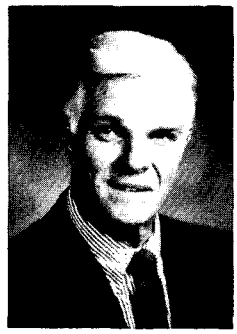
Though the race is officially non-partisan, there is no way Soto can remain quiet about her party affiliation and expect to win. "I'm not making a point of it, but people are asking me what I am," she says rather coyly. Nothing wrong with that — everyone knows Schabarum is a Republican.

As Schabarum's surprising move indicates, Los Angeles County supervisors rarely change jobs. Ed Edelman has been on the board since 1974, Kenneth Hahn since 1952, Antonovich and Dana for a decade. "It's a very influential office, and it's one with minimal life disruption as far as elected officials go," said Bob Saltzman, associate dean of the USC Law Center and formerly Edelman's senior deputy. "You live in your home town, you commute to your office ..."

Given that Schabarum's successor — depending, of course, on the settlement of the suit — could become an instant force in LA area politics, it is important to look more closely at the major candidates.

• When **Gregory O'Brien** was 15, he and an aunt crashed the 1960 Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles. He didn't care if it was the wrong party; he got to meet Governor Pat Brown, Senator Abraham Ribicoff, Mike Wallace and Art Buchwald. From that point he became, to use his own well-worn phrase, "a political junkie." O'Brien may be the only person to see John Kennedy nominated president who has spent much of the next 30 years raising money for Republicans.

This is one political junkie, however, who kicked the habit for almost 10 years during the 1960s and 1970s. Instead, O'Brien set out to build careers in law and public affairs, working in the criminal prosecution division of the Los Angeles City Attorney's office and for the Los Angeles Junior Chamber of Commerce. He returned to politics in 1976 as Los Angeles County co-chair of President Gerald Ford's presidential campaign; two years later he successfully backed a young David Dreier for Congress, an associ-



Lloyd

O'Brien

ation that continues to this day. Through the 1980s O'Brien attended many of the major GOP functions held in the San Gabriel Valley, which elects more Republicans to office by far than does any other part of the county.

If O'Brien was building contacts for his own political future, he didn't know it at the time. His only attempt at running for office occurred in 1980 when his good friend, Covina Assemblyman Bill Lancaster, was planning to step up to the congressional seat that would be vacated by John Rousselot when the congressman made his expected run for the United States Senate. With Lancaster's backing, O'Brien formed a campaign committee nine months before the primary to run for what he expected would be an open Assembly seat. At 34, he was set to launch a political career.

The scheme collapsed, however, when Rousselot changed his mind, which quickly caused Lancaster and O'Brien to fold their respective campaigns. O'Brien was the one left without an office, and he spent a couple of years wondering whether he should run for something else. In 1984 he was appointed by George Deukmejian to a Municipal Court judgeship; three years later the governor elevated O'Brien to a seat on the Superior Court bench.

"I had resigned myself to the proposition that a political future was not in the cards," said O'Brien, "and then Pete Schabarum had to ruin everything and ask if I would like to run for supervisor. And I found that I was not cured of the political virus, that it had simply been in remission."

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The matter of Schabarum's endorsement has become the most contentious political issue in the race. A mutual friend brought together the supervisor and O'Brien, who had known each other from GOP events, for the purposes of discussing who would next be king. This all took place four weeks before the world, not to mention Sarah Flores, finally learned that Schabarum was leaving the board.

"He felt it was unwise to say anything publicly; he felt the obvious opposition was Esteban Torres, but if he didn't make a public announcement Esteban Torres would lose interest and run for Congress," said O'Brien. "I didn't say anything to anyone."

Secrecy and deals: not the best way for a virtual unknown to be introduced to voters. But O'Brien, whose congeniality is quite a contrast to Schabarum's characteristically gruff posture, believes any anger over the way this was handled will fade. Besides, without Schabarum's backing O'Brien does not make the field.

• Earlier this year, when the lawsuit against the county was daily news, reporters started mentioning the name **Sarah Flores** as a possible candidate should there be reconfiguration of the supervisorial districts. It was a suggestion both logical and strange.

Flores is a Latina and a Republican, and that makes her appealing in a region where most Latinos are Democrats and most Republicans are Anglos. But Flores has also built a 34-year career working as secretary, executive secretary and finally chief deputy to five different supervisors. She has deliberately stayed clear of electoral politics. When a coalition in Monterey Park, for example, asked her to run for the city council several years ago, she thanked them and said no.

Yet when Schabarum seemingly misled her about his plans, and then in announcing his support of O'Brien at a press conference disparaged her qualifications, Flores became what she had long resisted: a candidate. She was that angry, and determined. "It's the right time and the right opportunity," she said.

Flores was not the only person mad at Schabarum. Supervisors Dana and Antonovich, fellow conservatives, had

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also been locked out of the back rooms where Schabarum addressed his future. In part to undermine their colleagues, Dana and Antonovich made a public, seemingly spur-of-the-moment endorsement of Flores, who first learned about their inclinations through news reports. Even so, it gave her campaign much-needed credibility and a possible link to financial supporters of the other two.

Flores has chosen highly-regarded consultant Ron Smith to run the campaign, a decision she made largely to spite her former employer. "The reason I selected Ron Smith was that in a conversation I had with Pete, he said, 'I understand you have chosen Ron Smith.' Though I hadn't, I noticed it bothered him, so I selected Ron Smith." As you might imagine, Flores is no longer working for Schabarum.

• In 1962 Phil Soto became the first Latino member of the Legislature elected from the San Gabriel Valley. Almost three decades later his wife, **Nell Soto**, wants to record a similar first, in terms of ethnicity and geography, with her race for the supervisorial seat.

"This side of Kellogg Hill has never been represented on the Board of Supervisors," said Soto, referring to communities such as Claremont, Pomona and La Verne. "This area needs a representative from the area."

With years of experience working on her husband's many campaigns, as well as involvement with Democratic groups throughout the district going back to the days of Truman, Soto knows many party intimates. In fact, Democratic Assemblywoman Sally Tanner of El Monte was among those closest to Soto who urged her to declare.

Soto enters the race having already taken over the family business of running for political office. In 1983 she tried to get elected to the Pomona City Council, which was known for being something of an exclusive club. She lost that race, but four years later her opponent's key backers switched sides. Soto and two other "outsiders" on the council have been able to fashion a 3-2 majority that is proving a threat to the established powers. Meetings of the Pomona City Council are now thrilling affairs, with implications of widespread corruption at city hall and feuds with the police department spicing the agenda.

If Soto wins the supervisorial seat, she can no longer serve on the council. Consequently her decision to run disappointed some of her Pomona following, but she argues that in the long run she can do better for the community by tending to its interests at the Board of Supervisors. What Soto must do is get the Democrats excited by her campaign. So far, however, that has been a problem.

The party appears to be waiting to see what will happen with the lawsuit. Soto approached Esteban Torres; she has his vote, of course, but probably not his official endorsement because a Soto victory could make it harder for Torres to run later. Party Chairman Jerry Brown expressed interest — and not much else — in her contest, while at the outset of the campaign Democratic supervisors Edelman and Hahn had yet to endorse. As Soto sees it, the party out of prudence should acknowledge the possibility that the suit will fail by backing her candidacy early. "What if nothing changes?" she said. "Every other person running is a conservative Republican."

• Until last Spring **Jim Lloyd** would have counted as a Democrat. But when George Bush became president, Lloyd, who used to play paddle ball in Washington with then-Vice President Bush, decided he would like to switch parties. "I had been doing some work for Bush, I know Bush personally," said Lloyd. "He calls me by my first name."

To be sure, Lloyd has for a long time been more conservative than even mainstream Democrats, especially on issues of defense. Since 1982 he has done consulting and lobbying on Capitol Hill for a number of clients, including Northrup, Hughes, San Bernardino County and the Inland Empire Economic Council. Closer to home, he recently helped In-N-Out Burgers put together the necessary council support for a particular city to approve the location of a restaurant. "I'm a true professional person of government," said Lloyd.

That, indeed, will be his principal message. With Cerrell's help, he will talk about his experience at getting bills passed, building coalitions — all those things that he learned while serving in office. At the same time he will hope that the "professional politician" — excoriated by Ronald Reagan and others during the past decade — is due for a comeback.

With the dark cloud of a redistricting lawsuit overhead, which threatens to spoil all their fun, O'Brien, Flores, Soto, Lloyd and the others in the campaign dash across the county making speeches, courting contributors, collecting volunteers. For three of the top contenders, anyway, it is all quite new and quite satisfying. "I'm excited about coming home and my answering machine has 18 calls on it," said Soto.

The race also provides a change from the standard elections around Los Angeles, where incumbents move from one seat to the next and the public becomes accustomed to the same faces. Now an unfamiliar candidate has the opportunity to break the unwritten rules and, in the space of four months — eight at the most — become a political power. Thanks to Pete Schabarum and his unusual ways.

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SUCCESS STORIES

MEET SANDRA OLPIENDO

Sandra Olpiendo is a California native, born and raised in the Los Angeles area. She is a single mother of a 4 year-old daughter.

Sandra attended Belmont High School. She worked at Fotomat and dropped out of high school to take-on a supervisorial position with the company. Realizing she had made a mistake not continuing her formal education, Sandra studied hard and in 1982, earned her GED.

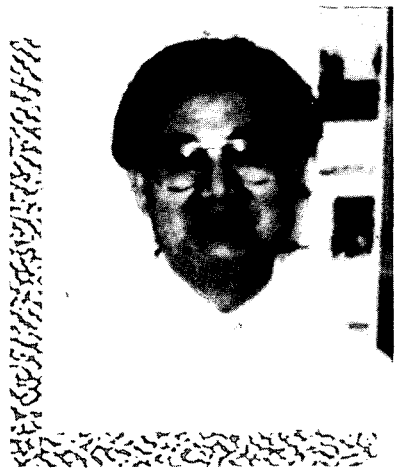
Sandra used her experience with Fotomat to get a job in the printing industry. She stayed working in that industry for six years. She left her job at the printing company when she became pregnant with her now, four year-old daughter.

Having a child was a big responsibility, as Sandra soon realized. She decided to enroll in the Wordprocessing Program at United College of Business. In the beginning, Sandra attended school full-time while working part-time as a file clerk for the Law Offices of Robert J. Allan. She was earning $5.00 per hour. As her skills improved through training at UCB, Sandra was continuously promoted. She continued attending UCB part-time while working full-time as her new position from the promotion required.

Sandra graduated from UCB in 1978. Today, she is working full-time at the law firm. She is a key player in the company's day-to-day activities as a legal secretary and is doing bookkeeping for the entire law firm. Sandra now earns over $2100 per month. She says she is very happy that she went back to school because now she and her daughter can live a comfortable life.

Sandra Olpiendo is a Success Story.

MEET HANG SOO SHIN



Hang Soo Shin is a native of South Korea who immigrated to Los Angeles in 1986. Upon arriving in the United States Mr. Shin decided to seek career training that would enable him to seek the ultimate American Dream...going into business for himself.

With a wife and 4 children to support and a new language and culture to learn, Mr. Shin had lots of work to do.

He enrolled in the Optical Dispensing program at the American College of Optics in October of 1986. He worked while attending school for 6 months and then he took a 30 day externship at Lenscrafters, where he was hired permanently upon completion of the 30 days.

With the training and experience he needed in hand, and a burning desire to pursue his dream, in January of this year, Mr. Shin left Lenscrafters to open his optical business in Los Angeles.

The optical shop, called, "L.A. Optical" is located on Vermont Avenue just 3 blocks from the college that helped to make his dream come true. Mr. Shin recently took on an intern from American College of Optics, Mr. Jin-Suk Park, who was hired on just a few weeks ago as a permanent employee.

Mr. Shin is proud to be a new business owner and reports business is great! The shop serves the community at large as well as the nearby "Korea Town" residents.

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Leo McCarthy

Marian Bergeson

John Seymour

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

Orange County Reeps vie to take on McCarthy

By Dave Lesher

In the land where legislators are sometimes called "cavemen," Orange County senators John Seymour and Marian Bergeson have stood out as political soulmates. They have shared the same supporters back home and similar votes in Sacramento.

When Newport Beach Assemblywoman Bergeson ran for the Senate in 1984 one of her earliest supporters was Seymour, then chairman of the Senate's Republican caucus. Seymour's endorsement fulfilled a promise he

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Dave Lesher is a reporter for the Los Angeles Times.

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made to Bergeson when she signed on with his 1982 campaign to fill a vacant Senate seat from Anaheim.

Once, Seymour says, he even offered his resignation as caucus chairman when a veteran Senate colleague challenged Bergeson and demanded his support. "I was glad to do it," he said recently.

It is against that friendly backdrop that the two senators have launched competing bids to win the Republican nomination in the race to unseat Democratic Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy. They have shared endorsements, philosophies and ratings. Now they share a battlefield.

Witness any recent debate, and it is immediately clear how far these two have come since those early days in the Legislature.

"My opponent has consistently attacked me," Seymour complained at a debate in Costa Mesa. "She has said that I lack integrity; that I lack principles and that I'm a wheeler-dealer. She has suggested that I'm a one-man wrecking crew for the environment.

"Well, so much for Ronald Reagan's 11th commandment" calling on Republicans not to bloody themselves in a primary, Seymour said. "I suppose it's time to take the gloves off."

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The moderator, an Orange County Republican who has known both legislators for years, introduced them as "two old friends." But when their half-hour mudbath was through, he asked that they shake hands as if to demonstrate that this was not personal.

"He's desperate," an angry Bergeson said afterward. "He's just whipping off stuff he doesn't know anything about. He's obviously ticked and he's showing that he's very sensitive."

What the attacks demonstrate is that, after a year of campaigning, both candidates are still stuck on square one with almost no visibility in their race and no identifiable front-runner. It's a recipe for more mud to come.

With so much similarity between the candidates, this race has been most distinguished by their one major difference: abortion. Bergeson, a Mormon, is a lifetime opponent of legalized abortion. And last Fall, Seymour announced a dramatic reversal in his position so that he now favors abortion rights as well as government-funded abortions for low-income women.

It may be that this race finally measures the new ballot-box impact of abortion within the California Republican Party — that is, if both candidates have enough money to get their messages out and no other issue surfaces to dominate the race.

But how does abortion play in this race, especially when the pro-life side is argued by a woman? A recent *Los Angeles Times* poll shows Californians support abortion rights 57 percent to 37 percent and Republicans in the state favor abortion 51 percent to 40 percent.

"I think we have two candidates who are fairly similar on the issues, and the first major issue that differs is choice," said Eileen Padberg, Seymour's campaign manager. "Bergeson believes the California Republican primary voter is conservative; I believe that she is wrong. It's sort of like a card game. We're going to play out our hand. I think the issue of choice is a ballot-box issue."

Bergeson has consistently faced questions on abortion during her campaign stops. At first, she tried to avoid them. She would shift the attention to other issues, particularly her record as an effective legislator in the Senate.

Lately, however, abortion is one of the first planks in a Bergeson speech. It's not because she thinks she's on the popular side. Instead, she has used it to demonstrate her backbone in standing up for a belief even when it is politically ill-advised. And it has been her evidence that Seymour can't be counted on to do the same.

"This campaign is not about issues," said Ron Smith, Bergeson's campaign manager. "It is about character."

Bergeson told an audience at the state Republican convention last month in Santa Clara: "Abortion is probably the most talked-about political issue in the last six months. We see many politicians rush to the microphone to switch their position on abortion because of the present political atmosphere and polls. I've been asked to change for purely political reasons. Let me make my position crystal clear: Read my lipstick: I will not."

Seymour has denied that his decision was inspired by political polls. In fact, he has said at campaign appearances that his September 1989 switch was made before any polls on abortion were available.

Bergeson's campaign responded by noting that his decision came after the abortion-dominated upset victory of Assemblywoman Tricia Hunter in August. And they identified three national polls that were available in September showing that a majority of voters favor abortion rights.

Seymour said, however, that his position was inspired by the Supreme Court's *Webster* decision last July which shifted more responsibility for abortion laws to state government. With a greater legal responsibility, Seymour said he was compelled to reconsider his political position.

"For the individual who refuses to recognize that there have been changes in the environment, that there are new facts to be considered and approaches the issue with her head in the sand rather than confronting the new facts and the new landscape, I think there is something missing," Seymour said at a recent debate. "I would hope I'd never have my feet so solid in concrete on any issue that I am unwilling to take a fresh look."

Abortion is not the only issue the two candidates have used to attack integrity. But the debate on other issues has underscored their basic similarities.

The most prominent issues both campaigns have used recently to contrast with the other are politically ancient: Proposition 13, the Equal Rights Amendment and the Nuclear Freeze. Both candidates have criticized the other for not supporting Proposition 13 in 1978. Then *both* said the other

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made an erroneous charge because they both claim to be long-time supporters. Seymour also charged that Bergeson flip-flopped on the ERA and is now an opponent. That prompted Smith to produce a crumbling and yellowed 1977 newspaper claiming that Bergeson was never an ERA supporter. And in San Diego recently, Bergeson criticized Seymour for supporting the Nuclear Freeze almost 20 years ago.

So who's watching these Spring skirmishes? Certainly not the voters. And don't look to the party leadership for guidance. Neither candidate has received the blessing of Governor George Deukmejian or U.S. Senator Pete Wilson.

Democrat McCarthy also said he has no preference about which Republican he would rather face in the November general election. "I would consider both of these people serious candidates," he said.

McCarthy also predicted that the winner in November will be judged on his or her record, since all three candidates have extensive experience in elected office. Highlighting his own record, McCarthy noted his proposed oil-spill legislation and his sponsorship of a crime initiative that would raise the sales tax by a half-cent to attack the drug problem.

"I don't know whether a Lieutenant Governor Seymour or a Lieutenant Governor Bergeson would be going after these things," he said.

McCarthy is seeking a third term as lieutenant governor after his failed bid for the U.S. Senate against Wilson in 1988. There was concern among Democrats about how McCarthy could convince voters that he needed another term in office.

Then came the San Francisco earthquake.

Deukmejian was in Germany and Acting Governor McCarthy was ubiquitous on state and national television during the first critical hours.

"The challenge for McCarthy was solved to a large degree because of the unfortunate occurrence of the earthquake," said Kam Kuwata, a Democratic consultant in Santa Monica. "I think, generally speaking, Leo would have faced a problem if it were not for the earthquake. People saw dramatically on that evening what he does ... and Leo took control."

McCarthy downplays the importance of the earthquake to his campaign, but he concedes it "was a positive."

"As I've traveled the state, I've had several thousand people walk up to me and say, 'I really like the way you handled yourself in that crisis,' " McCarthy said.

With such a tight race for the Republican nomination, however, McCarthy may not have any idea whom he will face until after the June 5th primary. This race may well be decided by television in the final days. That could mean whoever has the most money wins.

Bergeson acknowledges that Seymour will probably win the money race. She hopes to have $1 million for the primary. He is planning on $1.5 million. In the campaign-finance report covering the six-month period ending December 31, 1989, Seymour reported raising $767,000 to Bergeson's $645,000. Bergeson's bankroll also included $200,000 she transferred from her Senate campaign account.

As to how much of the money will be available for television, when the campaigns will go on the air or what their topics will be — nobody's talking. Seymour said, however, that Democratic gubernatorial candidate Dianne Feinstein's success with her early television ad could influence the lieutenant governor's race.

"We have begun our discussions about whether to go early or hold our fire till the end," Seymour said.

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By Richard Krolak

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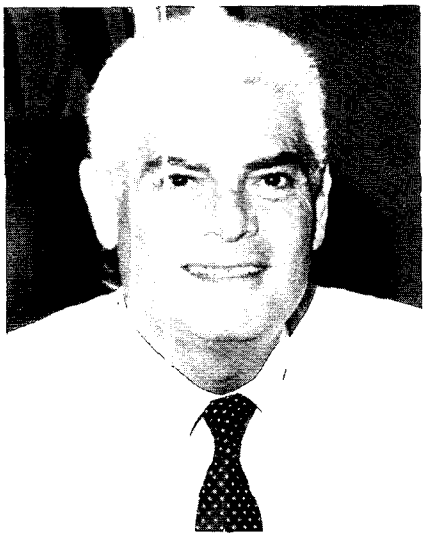

Ira Reiner

Arlo Smith

Dan Lungren

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Demo DAs get down and dirty

By James Richardson

Maybe Ira Reiner and Arlo Smith should just dispense with the election. Maybe they should just have it out at 20 paces. It might be less painful than what they have been putting themselves — and the rest of California — through to win the Democratic nomination for state attorney general.

The two have kept fax machines hot for weeks arguing over ancient cases won and lost. Each has bashed the other with crime statistics and dredged up every possible embarrassing moment from the other's life. Their surrogates step in to call the other names like "buffoon" and "evil." And when they finally met for a debate, neither could contain himself when the other was speaking. One might think that all this amounts to some fundamental disagreement about issues.

Not really. *Continued on next page*

James Richardson is a Capitol correspondent for The Sacramento Bee.

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Los Angeles District Attorney Ira Reiner and San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith both favor the death penalty, oppose off-shore oil drilling and are pro-choice on abortion. Both favor Pete Wilson's anti-crime initiative, although Reiner went from support to opposition before finally settling on support. Both say they would refuse to represent the state in cases where they have basic policy differences — like for example, defending laws restricting abortions. So what are they arguing about?

Each other.

"We need a lawyer, not a politician," said Smith, who has been winning elections for a decade, at their March debate in San Francisco. "Ira Reiner has squandered his integrity as a lawyer to advance his political career."

Smith's evidence? Among other things, that Reiner had supposedly stood on the courthouse steps in Beverly Hills "sacrificing his integrity to demand 30 days for Zsa Zsa Gabor."

Reiner, who alternately guffawed, turned red or shook his head during Smith's more colorful assertions, said Smith's comments about Zsa Zsa Gabor, and most everything else, was pure "silliness."

"No such thing took place," said Reiner, further trashing Smith's pronouncements as "blatant misstatements of fact." And Reiner had still more to say about Smith a few days later: "You have an obscure candidate trying to get some attention for himself. It hasn't worked; he's still obscure."

Whichever mud-smeared Democrat emerges with the nomination will likely face former Congressman Dan Lungren of Long Beach who is running unopposed for the Republican nomination for attorney general. Lungren was Governor George Deukmejian's first choice to become state treasurer following the death of Jesse Unruh. But his appointment was rejected by the state Senate in 1988. With the treasurer slot then filled with Thomas Hayes, Lungren, who had quit Congress to take the post, entered private law practice in Sacramento and decided to run for attorney general instead. There is no incumbent because Democrat John Van de Kamp is running for governor.

Lungren will head into the Fall election with the backing of Deukmejian's campaign organization plus his own Washington conservative connections. Telegenic and articulate, Lungren is banking on the electorate's being ready for a law-and-order Republican after eight years under Van de Kamp.

Reiner and Smith are mindful, however, that Lungren has some weaknesses. Lungren is devotedly anti-abortion, and he says he will also be hit over the head with his statements in Congress supporting off-shore oil drilling. A prelude for the Fall from Reiner: "Lungren is an aggressive advocate for off-shore oil drilling. He comes from Long Beach. It's like asking a congressman from a tobacco state if they are in favor of restricting smoking rights."

Lungren has countered with his own brand of wit. At a recent statewide Republican convention, Lungren said the two Democrats reminded him of William Faulkner's book, "The Sound and the Fury: Ira Reiner is all sound. Arlo Smith is pure fury."

Indeed, the two Democrats can almost be reduced to cardboard caricatures. The silver-haired Reiner, with bushy black eyebrows and piercing brown eyes, has a booming television voice and speaks in sound bites. He is always "on." Smith, a flash of red hair rimming his otherwise balding pate, juts his jaw forward and slices the air with his hands as he speaks. He comes off something like Ed Koch,

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the former mayor of New York.

During a recent debate with Reiner, Smith would leap from his chair and stride to the podium before his rival could finish speaking. Reiner, in turn, would laugh and shake his head when Smith was speaking. John Jacobs, chief political writer for the *San Francisco Examiner*, characterized their debate as "the political equivalent of mud wrestling."

But behind the caricatures are two hard-bitten political street fighters, veterans of rough-and-tumble local elections where they clawed and scratched their way up by portraying themselves as outsiders.

Reiner has said when he was a youth he was the only Jewish kid on his block in a working class Los Angeles neighborhood. He worked at odd jobs cleaning theaters, dying carpets, unloading boxcars, slinging hamburgers and delivering telegrams. He got through school the hard way.

Reiner graduated from the University of Southern California and then earned a law degree at Southwestern University Law School, a night law school oriented toward those trying to hold down a job. Its alumni include Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley. Reiner then began his career as a deputy city attorney before striking out on his own into private practice.

Among Reiner's more notable clients as a defense lawyer was murderer Leslie Van Houten, a member of the Charles Manson family. Vincent Bugliosi, the prosecutor in the case, described Reiner in his book, "Helter Skelter," as among the first lawyers to visit Manson in jail. "As one deputy put it, 'It's like a bar association convention over here,' " Bugliosi wrote

It was Manson who suggested Reiner represent Van Houten. However, shortly before the trial began Van Houten fired Reiner, who had worked on the case for eight months, because he would not take orders from Manson.

Reiner embarked on a political career in 1973, when he was named to the Los Angeles Fire Commission. Two years later, he won election to the Los Angeles Community College District Board of Trustees and then, in 1977, was elected city controller. He has been an enduring presence on Los Angeles television ever since, seemingly grabbing for publicity at every turn.

After a stint as city attorney, Reiner was elected district attorney in a rough-and-tumble 1984 campaign against Robert Philibosian, a friend of Deukmejian, who was appointed by the Board of Supervisors to fill the unexpired term of John Van de Kamp when he was elected state attorney general.

As district attorney, Reiner has headed the largest prosecutorial law office in the country, with 900 lawyers, and has achieved a 94 percent conviction rate. He has also expanded the traditional role of the district attorney into prosecuting criminal violations against polluters, slum lords and employers with unsafe working conditions, establishing special prosecution units for such cases. In his campaign for attorney general, Reiner has spelled out an ambitious plan for extending such prosecutions statewide by setting up special prosecutorial task forces.

As district attorney, Reiner has also looked beyond the confines of the Los Angeles basin, making frequent missions to Sacramento to lobby for various bills. He also has filed friend-of-the-court briefs in cases opposing off-shore oil drilling and expanding the authority of air pollution districts.

Smith has criticized Reiner, however, for accepting

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campaign contributions from oil companies — a charge that particularly galls Reiner. "The guy who has done nothing is accusing the guy who has done the most of doing nothing," said Reiner.

Above all else, Reiner has always been a controversial character in Los Angeles. Indeed, he invites controversy. "I am not afraid to speak my mind," he said. "There are far too many people in public life who don't stand for anything. They are just holding a job."

Reiner is known for having a distant leadership style — some of his deputy district attorneys say they only know him by his television image.

He was criticized for the theatrics in the "Twilight Zone" manslaughter trial of film director John Landis, who was acquitted in the deaths of actor Vic Morrow and two child actors on a movie set.

Reiner caused many to blanch when he publicly blamed his chief deputy for the embarrassing indictment and subsequent dismissal of charges against then-Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler for allegedly trying to pay off state Senator Ed Davis to get him out of the 1986 U.S. Senate race.

And Reiner also has seen no end of controversy from the McMartin pre-school molestation case, a knotty mess he inherited from his predecessor, Philibosian. After a lengthy trial ended in acquittals and a hung jury, Reiner said he would take the case to trial again.

Reiner blamed adverse publicity in the McMartin case for his roughly even showing with Smith in the polls. "It certainly has had a temporary effect for Mr. Smith, and I think it will be temporary. If I'm wrong, I'm wrong."

More recently, Reiner has come under fire for relying on jailhouse informants who faked testimony.

Smith has made it part of his stock speech that Reiner was "censured twice" by the State Bar of California. Smith's assertion, however, is not accurate. Reiner was once "publicly reproved" in 1986 — the next to the lowest disciplinary admonishment — by the bar for two instances of abandoning city clients and revealing their secrets to the city council. In one, Reiner turned in a city department head who had a conflict of interest and in another case, he asked the city council to strip the budget of a police department political spying unit he had been defending against lawsuits because it had continued to spy. "They were preparing dossiers on the judge who was to try the case," Reiner explained. "I had duty to the public, not to these officials. I did what was right."

Smith rode into office in 1979 in a bitter campaign where he branded former district attorney Joe Freitas as a bungler for securing only a manslaughter conviction of Dan White, the former San Francisco supervisor who murdered Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk.

Before becoming district attorney — his first elective office — Smith spent 26 years in the attorney general's office in various positions. His lengthy service allows Reiner to brand him a "career bureaucrat."

As district attorney, Smith has pointed with pride to criminal prosecutions against polluters and taking a tough stance toward white-collar crime (a record that Reiner nonetheless finds fault with, saying it is paltry in comparison with his own).

Smith has had his share of controversies. The San Francisco Bar Association, responding to complaints, examined the district attorney's office in 1982 and scored Smith as a poor administrator. Smith was further embarrassed when he and his top assistant went on a drinking spree that began at lunch and lasted clear into the evening. The two were driven home by police officers, and when the incident surfaced in San Francisco newspapers, then-Mayor Dianne Feinstein publicly reprimanded Smith for "injury and embarrassment" brought upon his office. His assistant resigned.

In 1987 Smith took flak from Feinstein again, this time for dismissing an investigation into a housing developer who had contributed $100 to the political campaign of Smith's son, Arlo Hale Smith, who is a director of the Bay Area Rapid Transit District. Feinstein, who had requested the investigation, was particularly put out to have learned the inquiry had been dropped from Smith's son when he was on a television talk show.

Reiner has relentlessly criticized Smith for having a poor conviction record — the lowest of the 10 most populous counties in the state — and for filing charges in only half the cases that come to his office. According to Reiner's interpretation, the statistics mean that Smith files only the easiest cases and still gets the lowest conviction rate.

"It's a very sharp criticism," said an impartial state official who is an expert on the criminal justice system. "It means Smith's very ineffective."

While acknowledging the accuracy of the statistics, Smith maintains that they do not tell the whole story. He said that his office receives all police reports — unlike Los Angeles County where police departments send reports to the district attorney at their discretion.

As for his conviction rate, Smith maintains that it is dampened by San Francisco's wide use of drug diversion programs in narcotics cases. He claims a better measure of success is that state prison commitments from San Francisco compared to the city's overall population is higher than in Los Angeles. Reiner, however, responds that such a statistic is meaningless — that Los Angeles has a higher prison commitment ratio in relation to convictions won.

Smith has won several law enforcement endorsements, including one from the Peace Officers Research Association, one of the oldest police organizations in the state. "We deserve a career prosecutor and not some suede-shoe politician," said its president, Larry Malmberg. However, some Southern California cops may be settling old grudges with Reiner by endorsing Smith — someone with whom they have little familiarity.

The suspicion remains, Malmberg said, that Reiner is really interested in using the attorney general's office as another jumping-off point to higher office — a trait that has characterized Reiner's career.

Smith has not set forth in the same detail as Reiner what he would do as attorney general beyond stand on the same side of the issues as Reiner. At times, Smith's whole reason for running seems to be in stopping Reiner. "Instead of taking responsibility he always blames somebody else," said Smith with characteristic venom. The attacks on Reiner represent "fundamental differences with the way you get things done," he said.

"I want to continue that great institution of attorney general. It's important that its integrity be preserved and it not be turned over to a person who will turn it into a rolling opportunity for a press conference," Smith said.

Does anything go when it comes to talking about Reiner? "We're not talking about collateral things like who's got a girlfriend and who doesn't have a girlfriend," said Smith. "That's negative campaigning."

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BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,178 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure. To qualify for the November 1990 ballot, sponsors should have submitted petitions by March 23rd. The full texts of all initiatives may be obtained from the Secretary of State's election division, 1230 J Street, Sacramento CA 95814.*

New in circulation:

TRIAL BY JURY, INSTRUCTIONS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Marion McEwen and Wayne Nygren of Hayward, that would provide that the jury, in all civil suits and criminal prosecutions, has the responsibility to determine the facts, the right to judge applicable law and the right to consider defendant's motives. It also would require judges to instruct the jury regarding its duties; among those duties that juries may vote according to conscience if they find a law to be unjust or wrongly applied, regardless of the facts in a case. (August 13th)

ALIEN LAND OWNERSHIP — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Mark Peters of Glendora, that would prohibit aliens from acquiring title to or certain specified interests in California real property. Aliens are defined as persons who are not U.S. citizens, or resident legal aliens; corporations or businesses controlled or secured by aliens; or persons who have not lawfully declared intent to become U.S. citizens. Some previously acquired lands would be exempt; others would be sold at a time specified in the measure. (August 17th)

PEST ERADICATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Democratic state Senator Art Torres and Patricia Prickett of Hacienda Heights, that would require that pest-eradication projects include non-pesticide alternatives, limit pesticide use, demonstrate pesticide effectiveness without substantial damage to non-target plants, animals and environment. It also requires public notice of potential application and prohibits aerial spraying of pesticides in urban areas. (September 7th)

PRIVATE PROPERTY, COMPENSATION FOR PUBLIC USE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Thomas Herman of Crescent City, that would require cash compensation from the state (general fund) when a state or local government action diminishes the fair market value of private property by 20 percent or more. Among other provisions, it would require compensation equal to twice the loss of property value when government action results in the loss of employment by third persons. (September 11th)

PESTICIDE REGULATION AND APPLICATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Oscar Singer of Los Angeles, that would ban the use of pesticides and chemicals on private and public property without the written consent of the property owner. Government would be made liable for injuries to persons and property resulting from pest control and eradication projects. Among other provisions, it would also prevent state and local officials from declaring a state of emergency or adopting emergency regulations in response to pest infestations. (September 11th)

Continuing in circulation:

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT. PUBLIC HEALTH. BONDS — an initiative statute sponsored by Attorney General John Van de Kamp, Democratic Assemblymen Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento and Tom Hayden of Santa Monica, Albert Meyerhoff of the National Resource Defense Council in San Francisco, Michael Piker of Sacramento, Carl Pope of Berkeley and Bob Mulholland of Chico. (April 27th, February 1990 *CJ*)

CRIMES. TAXATION. BONDS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Attorney General John Van de Kamp. (April 30th, February 1990 *CJ*)

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. ETHICS. CAMPAIGN FINANCING — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute sponsored by Attorney General John Van de Kamp, John Phillips of Los Angeles and Mayor Tom McEnery of San Jose. (May 7th, February 1990 *CJ*)

MARINE RESOURCES — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by GOP Assemblywoman Doris Allen of Cypress. (May 7th, February 1990 *CJ*)

STATE AND LOCAL TAXES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Boris Isaacson of North Hollywood. (May 10th, March 1990 *CJ*)

OWNERSHIP OF FIREARMS — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Bernadine Smith and Gerald Hunt of Hanford. (May 11th, February 1990 *CJ*)

STARVATION — an initiative statute sponsored by Eleanor George of San Diego. (May 14th, February 1990 *CJ*)

TRANSPORTATION — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Craig Hendrickson, Christopher Huntington, James Kendricks and Anthony Hedayat of Los Angeles; by Jeffrey Sceranck and Jeffrey Young of Rancho Cucamonga; and by Graham Kaye-Eddie of Bakersfield. (May 14th, February 1990 *CJ*)

CANDIDATES. CAMPAIGN FINANCES. GIFTS — an initiative statute sponsored by Gareth Neumann of Glendale. (May 14th, February 1990 *CJ*)

DRUG ENFORCEMENT AND PREVENTION. TAXES. PRISON TERMS — an initiative statute sponsored by Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy. (May 17th, February 1990 *CJ*)

REAPPORTIONMENT BY COMPUTER FORMULA — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Ken Gow of Whittier. (May 21st, February 1990 *CJ*)

ALCOHOL SURTAX FUND — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Andrew McGuire of Sacramento. (May 25th, February 1990 *CJ*)

GAMING COMMISSION. SPORTS WAGERING — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute sponsored by Democratic Assemblyman Richard Floyd of Gardena. (May 29th, February 1990 *CJ*)

FOREST PROTECTION. TIMBER HARVESTING. BOND ACT — an initiative statute sponsored by Robert Bennett Sutherland of Redway and Cecelia Lanman of Arcata and supported by Forests Forever of Ukiah. (May 29th, February 1990 *CJ*)

HEALTH CARE COVERAGE — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by the chairman of California 2000, Michael Weinstein of Los Angeles. (June 11th, March 1990 *CJ*)

TERMS OF OFFICE. PUBLIC OFFICERS RETIREMENT.

Continued on next page

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RESIGNATIONS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by William Sullivan of San Ramon, Judi Haderer of San Bruno, and Tom Mezger of Yolo. (June 18th, March 1990 *CJ*)

TERMS OF OFFICE. PUBLIC OFFICERS RETIREMENT. RESIGNATIONS. MISUSE OF PUBLIC FUNDS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Lee Phelps of Aptos. (June 18th, March 1990 *CJ*)

TERMS OF OFFICE. LEGISLATORS' RETIREMENT. LEGISLATIVE OPERATING COSTS — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum, and by J.G. Ford Jr. and Lewis Uhler of Loomis. (June 18th, March 1990 *CJ*)

TIMBERLAND ACQUISITION. BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Patrick Shannon of Willow Creek. (June 18th, March 1990 *CJ*)

PRISON INMATE LABOR. TAX CREDIT — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute, sponsored by Governor George Deukmejian. (June 21st, March 1990 *CJ*)

HOUSE OF COMMONS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Eric Jacobson of Los Angeles. (June 21st, March 1990 *CJ*)

COMMISSION ON CIVILIAN ECONOMY. APPROPRIATION. TAX DEDUCTION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Lila Garrett, Suzanne Marks and Ronald DiNicola of Los Angeles. (June 21st, March 1990 *CJ*)

CRIMINALIZED DRUG LAWS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Thomas Neece of Redwood Valley. (June 29th, March 1990 *CJ*)

MARIJUANA — an initiative statute, sponsored by Thomas Neece of Redwood Valley. (June 29th, March 1990 *CJ*)

REAPPORTIONMENT BY LEGISLATURE. SUPREME COURT. JUDICIAL REVIEW — an initiative statute and constitutional amendment, sponsored by Wade Bruce Lee II of Sacramento. (July 2nd, March 1990 *CJ*)

REAPPORTIONMENT BY LEGISLATURE; SUPREME COURT. JUDICIAL REVIEW — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Richard Noble of Los Angeles. (July 2nd, March 1990 *CJ*)

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM PROCESS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Joel Fox of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association in Granada Hills. (July 9th, March 1990 *CJ*)

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STATE ADMINISTERED AUTO INSURANCE. AUTO CLAIMS COURT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Voter Revolt and its executive committee (including Proposition 103 sponsor Harvey Rosenfield). (July 9th, April 1990 *CJ*)

PESTICIDE REGULATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Joel Nelson of Visalia, Bob Vice of Fall Brook, and Leland Ruth and Dennis Merwin of Sacramento. (July 13th, April 1990 *CJ*)

CHILDREN'S SERVICES. APPROPRIATIONS. SURTAXES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Bill Zimmerman of Santa Monica. (July 23rd, April 1990 *CJ*)

TIMBER HARVESTING. FORESTRY PROGRAM. BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Wesley Higbie of the Timber Association of California in San Mateo. (July 23rd, April 1990 *CJ*)

FORESTRY PROGRAM. TIMBER HARVESTING. BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by George Craig of Oakland. (July 23rd, April 1990 *CJ*)

FOREST PROTECTION. TIMBER HARVESTING. BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Thomas Lippe of San Francisco. (July 26th, April 1990 *CJ*)

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY — an initiative statute, sponsored by Democratic Assemblyman Mike Roos of Los Angeles. (July 30th, April 1990 *CJ*)

Failed to qualify:

LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by C.T. Weber of San Diego. (April 6th, December 1989 *CJ*).

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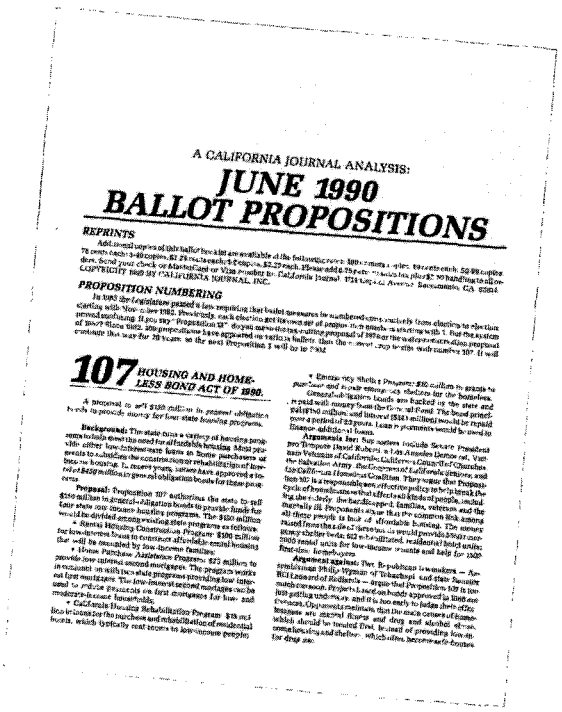

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Tom Hayes

Angela "Bay" Buchanan

Kathleen Brown

TREASURER

Two little sisters and a Vietnam vet

By Richard Zeiger

Angela "Bay" Buchanan thinks it's great fun that both she and the likely Democratic nominee for state treasurer are the "little sisters" of famous older brothers.

For Buchanan, generating a little excitement may be her best chance of winning the Republican nomination for the treasurer's job now held by Republican Tom Hayes — Governor George Deukmejian's handpicked successor to the late Jesse Unruh.

"If you can inject a little excitement into a campaign, you can really come and surprise your opponent because it makes up for a lot of money," notes Buchanan.

And Buchanan admits she's going to have to compensate some way because even after her famous brother, columnist and one-time Nixon administration official Pat Buchanan, comes to California to raise money on her behalf, she's going to trail badly behind Hayes in gathering campaign money.

So she dwells on what a great race it will be in November if she is the opponent of Kathleen Brown, whose famous older brother was former Governor Jerry Brown and whose famous father was former Governor Pat Brown. In the Democratic primary, Kathleen Brown faces only an underdog challenge by Compton Municipal Treasurer Wesley Sanders Jr.

"She attracted me to this race," says Buchanan of

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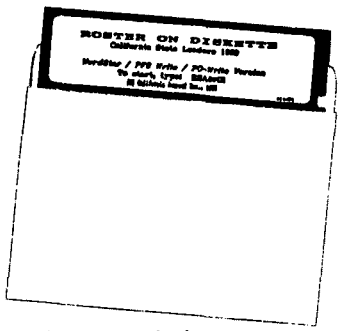

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Brown. "I saw her form her committee and I said, 'This is interesting.' I watched her. If you want to be a candidate, why not have a great race? Why not have one that's really worthwhile? Why not have a liberal and a conservative, two women who really represent the sides of the aisle, and really give the voters a real choice? That's the competitive spirit in me."

But first, Buchanan will have to get past Hayes. And that promises to be no easy task.

Hayes came to the treasurer's job as Deukmejian's second choice; his initial pick, then-Congressman Dan Lungren of Long Beach, was rejected by the state Senate's Democrats as too partisan. For his next choice, Deukmejian found in Hayes a candidate that Democrats could not oppose. Hayes was the state's auditor general, selected by the Legislature, with a jealously guarded reputation for political independence. Until his confirmation as treasurer, he hadn't even registered with a political party. In fact, it was Republicans who found the most to complain about. They felt the nomination should go to someone with proven party credentials.

It was these complaints that gave Buchanan, who was treasurer for a Reagan presidential campaign and later appointed by him to be U.S. treasurer, the opening she needed to challenge Hayes. Although she reports that Deukmejian supporters tried to dissuade her, Buchanan found a receptive audience among the more conservative members of her party. Indeed, the initial stages of her campaign consisted largely of assertions that she was the "real Republican" in the primary.

But in recent weeks, that posture has given way to attacks on Hayes for accepting money from Wall Street investment bankers, a practice that Buchanan maintains has put an ethical "cloud over the position of treasurer."

This pitch has turned out to be a good one for Buchanan. In these ethically conscious times it has garnered her more press attention. She has refused to take money from these investment firms, a position that allows her to claim the ethical high road. It's an elevation made easier, she admits, by the fact that this was not likely to have been a major source of money for her in any case. At the same time, it strikes at the heart of Hayes' image as a competent, ethical manager who is above the political fray.

And it apparently has had some impact on the voters. Although the great majority of polled Republicans remain undecided in this primary, Buchanan has slowly cut her deficit to Hayes. A mid-April California Poll shows her winning 23 percent of the vote to 28 percent for Hayes, with 49 percent still undecided.

For his part, Hayes dismisses Buchanan's charges as unfounded. All of the state contracts he has given to Wall Street banking and brokerage firms are let on a competitive basis, Hayes says, a system he introduced when he came into the job. Furthermore, he notes that as the state's auditor general, it was his job to ferret out inefficient or illegal financial practices.

"I pride myself on my ethics," says Hayes.

Beyond that, he has little to say about Buchanan, except to maintain that he is the more qualified candidate and to insist that when it comes to guarding their money, the state's taxpayers want a "financial manager, not a politician." It's a stance — the professional above the political fray — Hayes hopes will carry him through November. There are also some signs that the above-the-fray posture will work. Hayes notes that he has obtained the endorsement of the California Teachers Association, which he thought would go to Democrat Brown.

"I told them that I was the person who could make the most money for the state, and that ultimately, that was to their benefit. They bought it," said Hayes.

Still, Hayes maintains he will do what he needs to do in order to win, and that includes raising money from Wall Street firms. Indeed, it is money from this source that has given him much of his edge over Buchanan.

To assist him, Hayes has acquired much of the Deukmejian campaign apparatus as his own, including the money-raising ability of lawyer Karl Samuelian and the political advice of former Deukmejian staffers Steve Merksamer and Larry Thomas. Handling his own press is Donna Lucas, a former Deukmejian deputy press secretary. As his own top assistant, Hayes hired B.T. Collins, a Kidder-Peabody bond salesman who, although a Republican, was chief of staff to Jerry Brown.

In the meantime, he is pushing hard to shore up the idea that he is the hands-on manager most qualified to invest the state's money. He regularly invites reporters to join him at 6:30 in

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the morning when he and his staff invest millions of state dollars in a few minutes time. The message here is clear: Neither of his female opponents have the know-how to assume that responsibility, a notion that both Brown and Buchanan dispute.

To bolster the fear that he might somehow not be tough enough to carry on a campaign against Kathleen Brown in November, Hayes is trotting out his credentials as a Vietnam war veteran. To give a little panache to the otherwise bland Hayes, his campaign is even toying with the idea of actually using a slogan suggested in jest by a political reporter: "He's nobody's little sister."

Familial relations aside, there are some issues involved in the treasurer's race, but in most cases the candidates are not that far apart. Each, for example, maintains that it is the treasurer's responsibility to get the best possible return on the state's idle money. Philosophical considerations should not play a part.

On other issues, Buchanan and Hayes are both anti-abortion, but neither would preclude the sale of state bonds that support hospitals performing abortions. Brown has strong environmental credentials, but she does not back a movement to withdraw state investments from firms that do not adhere to a set of guidelines being pushed by environmental groups. Each candidate has maintained that he or she would have opposed the state's policy of refusing to invest in firms involved in South Africa, as well. But each also says that now that this is state policy, it should be followed.

There are differences, too. Brown, for instance, has maintained that the state should move more quickly to sell some $7 billion in outstanding state bonds approved by the voters. It is costing the state money in added construction costs to hold back on these sales, she says. Both Hayes and Buchanan express greater concern that increasing bonds sales could flood the market and result in higher interest rates and ultimately a reduction in the state's excellent credit rating. But each candidate maintains that the real solution to the problem is to develop with the Legislature and governor a long-range plan for state capital spending that would map out how many bonds should be sold each year.

Still, issues have so far been less important in this low-key campaign than the differing personalities and backgrounds of the leading contenders. For Hayes, this probably matters least: He hopes the voters want a competent, if placid, manager to watch their money.

But the two women are likely to generate considerably more excitement and, to that end, are looking past June to the November run-off. If anything, Hayes finds campaigning slightly distasteful. But the intense Buchanan is eager to tangle with Brown. For her, the contest against a woman she has never met takes on almost a religious fervor.

"I admit it," says Buchanan, "She's a Democrat. She's good, she's strong, and she should be beat. I said to myself, 'Kathleen is the future of the Democratic Party. She is being groomed. Treasurer is a finishing school for her to prepare her for governor. We, as Republicans, should try and stop her now.' I am not hesitant about taking a Kathleen on, I look forward to a race against a Kathleen Brown."

When confronted with such comments, Brown just wrinkles her forehead and stares. Then, gazing steadily with eyes that are remarkably like those of her brother, she calmly says that it doesn't matter who she faces in November.

"I'll beat either one of them," she offers.

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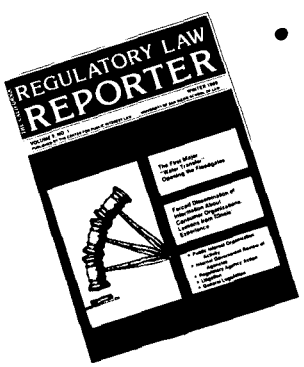

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Conway Collis

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INSURANCE COMMISSIONER

Nixon, narcotics and nightmares: an issue-laden campaign shapes up

By Teresa Simons

One of the candidates likened his opponent to Richard Nixon. Another was forced to admit that he was once convicted of possessing pot. A third contender ducked numerous debates, then broke his silence at

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Teresa Simons is a Capitol correspondent for United Press International in Sacramento and a frequent contributor to California Journal.

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the Democratic Party state convention only to lose the party's endorsement. And then there's the candidate who hopes to attract attention with his promise to be unfair to the insurance industry.

Welcome to the first campaign for state insurance commissioner. Until now, the post has always been filled by a gubernatorial appointee and, most always, by someone who either came from the insurance industry or planned to go there when his or her term was up. But thanks to Proposition 103, California's next insurance commissioner will likely be the person who can best convince voters he will protect them from crippling insurance rate hikes.

The cast of characters in this drama includes:

- Bill Press, 50, a former Los Angeles television commentator who once headed former Governor Jerry Brown's state planning office. He has championed several environmental causes and can speak like a good Texas populist. "The water is never going to clear up until you can get the hogs out of the creek," he says about insurance companies.
- State Senator John Garamendi, an ambitious 45-year-old lawmaker from Walnut Grove who has made two unsuccessful bids for statewide office and hopes this one, his third, will be the charm.
- Walter Zelman, 46, the former California director for Common Cause who has spent 13 years bashing politicians and is now trying to show how public service should be done.
- Conway Collis, 42, a member of the tax-setting state Board of Equalization and the chosen candidate for Proposition 103's lead author, Harvey Rosenfield. Collis is also the only candidate to support Rosenfield's proposed 1992 ballot initiative to drive insurance companies out of the state if they don't immediately slash premiums.
- Ray Bourhis, 47, the San Francisco attorney who got his first and only taste of politics while working on the 1968 presidential campaign of the late Robert Kennedy. He has spent the last 17 years representing consumers against big insurance companies, an experience that's given him a fervor to represent all insurance consumers.

Leading the Republican ticket for the June 5th primary is Wes Bannister, an insurance agent and Huntington Beach city councilman who has wide support among insurance agents and brokers. Another Republican, Tom Skornia, works for an industry-financed group that's pushing no-fault insurance. He is advocating legal changes to cut down on lawsuits and the ability of victims to recover damages.

But with the Democrats spending far more than the Republicans, and boasting stronger credentials as consumer advocates, most political observers believe the Democratic primary will produce the state's first elected insurance commissioner.

For as big an issue as insurance was in the November 1988 initiative battle that saw Proposition 103 win out against four rival ballot measures, the insurance commissioner's race appears to be taking a back seat in this year's campaigning. And, unlike the

Wes Bannister

Tom Skornia

initiative wars, the emphasis this time around has not been on insurance issues.

For example, Collis has made sure reporters know that Zelman pleaded guilty to misdemeanor possession of marijuana charges 18 years ago. It's a tricky balancing act: Collis at one point insisted erroneously that Zelman had pleaded guilty to a felony, but also has maintained that he never intended to use the conviction against Zelman. He said he only wanted to raise an issue that a Republican opponent could otherwise use in the general election. Collis, by the way, has admitted to smoking pot himself. But he said, "The issue isn't youthful experimentation with marijuana. The issue is disclosing a conviction."

Garamendi, the best financed of the five, has drawn fire from all of his opponents for skipping most of the candidate debates. Zelman says Garamendi doesn't want to answer the obvious question: What has he done for insurance consumers during his last 10 years in the Legislature? Collis, in a particularly spicy press release, likened Garamendi to Richard Nixon. "A 'rose garden' strategy may have worked for President Nixon, but it will not work for John Garamendi," Collis wrote.

Feeling the pressure, Garamendi agreed to debate at the Democratic Party state convention. Press won 64 percent of the delegates' vote, capturing the endorsement. Garamendi finished a distant second with 17 percent.

Zelman, for his part, has raised questions about Collis, who has been criticized for his activities as a member of the state Board of Equalization. Zelman notes that Collis raised $30,000 for Proposition 103 author Rosenfield's Voter Revolt group, intimating that Rosenfield may have sold his endorsement. But Rosenfield stresses that Collis has come out stronger than any other candidate against the insurance industry, and is the only candidate to support his proposed initiative for the November ballot. Rosenfield rejects allegations that Collis and other members of the Equalization Board awarded favorable tax rates to companies that contributed to their campaigns. After critical news reports, Collis two years ago adopted a policy of not voting on matters involving campaign contributors. He joined the board in 1982.

Still, there are some weighty issues in the commissioner's race — real insurance issues.

Even before the passage of Proposition 103, California's insurance commissioner had broad powers to prohibit "excessive" rates and to fine or revoke the license of any insurance company that dealt in bad faith. But these powers were rarely used. Now, the insurance commissioner also has the power to approve or disapprove rate increases before they are instituted and to demand access to a wide assortment of company records.

Collis says he intends to use these new powers as a sledgehammer against the industry. When he formally declared his candidacy he promised: "If I'm elected insurance commissioner, I'm not going to be fair to the insurance industry. I'm not going to be even-handed. I'm not going to be reasonable. I'm going to break their backs. I'm going to be their worst nightmare." And Collis has repeated those sentiments ever since.

But if that's what the public wants, it hasn't been made clear in the polls, which show Collis trailing frontrunners Press and Garamendi.

On the other end of the political spectrum is Garamendi, the only leading Democrat who remains open to no-fault insurance, under which a driver's insurance company pays for

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his or her accident, regardless of who is at fault. Less adamant than the others that the sacrifices needed to reduce costs should come primarily from insurance profits, Garamendi authored a 1977 no-fault auto insurance bill seeking changes in the legal system to cut down on lawsuits, the role of lawyers and the ability of victims to recover damages. He also was a supporter of successful medical malpractice legislation that limited damages that could be awarded litigants, thereby reducing insurers' costs and curbing price increases in malpractice insurance. But Garamendi has not carried any significant insurance legislation as rates have skyrocketed in recent years.

Somewhere between the positions taken by Collis and Garamendi lie those of Zelman, Bourhis and Press. Press insists that auto insurance companies can lower their rates 20 percent, as called for under Proposition 103, and still make the fair rate of return guaranteed them under a state Supreme Court interpretation of the ballot initiative. But Zelman says that while the state's goal should be to get a 20 percent rate rollback from all companies, he believes some firms will not be able to give the rollback and still make a fair profit. Bourhis would prefer to scrap the fair-rate-of-return provision altogether, rather than face what he believes will be years of lawsuits by insurers. Instead, he wants consumers to band together into large pools. Insurance companies would then have to compete to cover members of the pools. "Then we'll see insurance companies fighting to outbid each other," he says.

The insurance commissioner candidates are well aware that they also will be asked to do something about the six million Californians who have no health insurance and the skyrocketing premiums of those who do.

Garamendi, for instance, says he would use his office as a pulpit for introducing health coverage proposals to the Legislature. Garamendi would be expected to work with insurers, lawyers, employers and consumers in an attempt to reach common ground, just as he has brought various groups together on numerous legislative proposals — most recently the June ballot initiative to raise the state's constitutional spending limit and double its gasoline tax. Bourhis vows to be the "toughest prosecutor" of existing laws controlling health insurers. Collis says once voters are shown the state can run a successful auto insurance program, as is allowed under Rosenfield's new proposed initiative, they will agree to state-run health insurance as well. Zelman supports a state-funded program to provide health insurance to all Californians.

Because so many of the candidates are not well known, many political consultants believe the June primary will be decided by a last-minute rush of media advertising and campaign mailers. To that end, Garamendi, who is by far the best financed candidate, has an enormous advantage.

But at least a few observers say money will not buy this race, just as it couldn't defeat Proposition 103. And Press, who has widespread name recognition in Southern California, has done nearly as well or better than Garamendi in the polls.

Finally, there is a wild card in the race. Consumer advocate, Ralph Nader, whose support for Proposition 103 may have been decisive in the 1988 insurance initiative battle, says he will issue a scorecard on the candidates later this month.

Nader generally doesn't back contenders for political office. But he has praised Collis' hard stand against the insurance industry and has labeled two of Collis' opponents — Garamendi and Zelman — as "impostors."

Nader says Garamendi has failed to attempt any insurance reform while in the Legislature. His problem with Zelman is more personal: Nader was angered by Zelman's proclamation that he wanted to become the "Ralph Nader of insurance for all the people of California" — particularly since the candidate did not endorse Proposition 103 from the start. (Zelman preferred Proposition 100, which would not have called for as big a rate rollback as Proposition 103, but which would have extended the insurance commissioner's rate regulation authority to health insurance as well as auto insurance.)

Several consumer activists reportedly have spoken to Nader, informing him of Collis' reputation on the Board of Equalization and of Zelman's longtime service to consumer causes. But Nader hasn't budged. "Ralph is a person with very strongly held views and how he expresses them sometimes is very destructive to people who have been his friends and co-workers," says Harry Snyder, western regional director for Consumers Union. "People just excuse him because he's Ralph. They all say the same thing: 'That's just Ralph.'"

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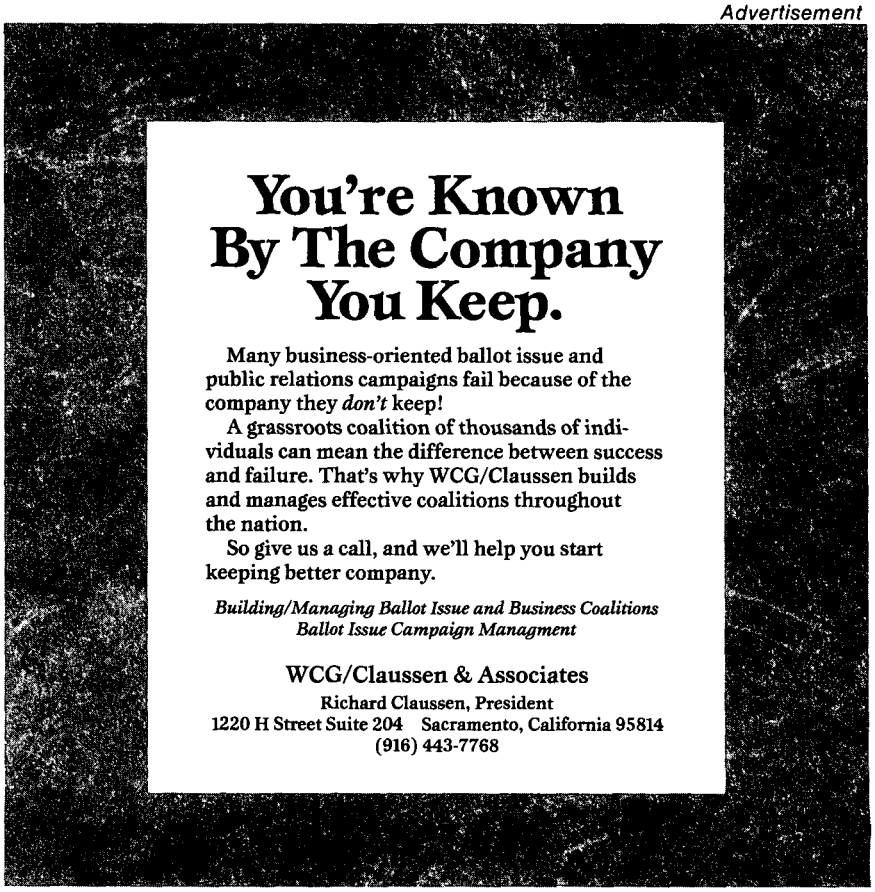
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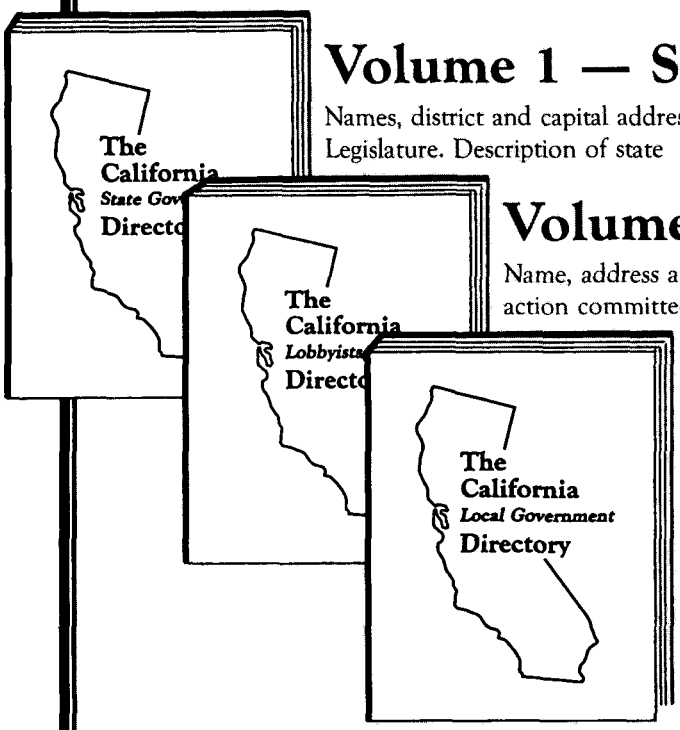

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Election '90

District-by-district analysis

The 1990 elections are a prelude. The real action will take place in 1992, after the next reapportionment. Next time, six or seven new congressional seats will be available, and that will encourage a host of current legislative officeholders to try to move to Washington. New district boundaries will force others to make choices, or pit incumbents against each other, so even more seats may be up for grabs. Finally, U.S. Senator Alan Cranston will also be up for reelection in 1992, and at least three Democratic members of the House have expressed a desire to challenge him, opening up three more House seats.

But this year the campaigns will be largely defensive. Incumbents from marginal districts will try to hold on one more time in hopes of getting a better district two years down the road. The 1980s' reapportionment has made incumbents remarkably durable, and to date there remain few seats where the outcome is doubtful.

Still, 1990 will differ from past elections. Probably the biggest change has been brought about by the passage of Proposition 73 in June 1988. Among other provisions, it eliminated the transfer of campaign money from one candidate to another. Along with apparently reducing the amount of money being raised by candidates, Proposition 73 will make it more difficult for legislative leaders to launch last minute, surprise attacks against an opponent deemed vulnerable. Conversely, incumbents in difficult districts who have counted on colleagues for money in the past now are on their own, and it's not clear if they will be able to raise the necessary cash to fend off concerted attacks.

Also unknown this year is the effect the abortion issue will have on the campaigns. Several legislators have challengers who seem to be running for no other reason than they disagree with the incumbent over abortion.

In Congress, several recent resignations have created openings where none were expected. The venerable Democrat Gus Hawkins is finally retiring, as is Republican Norm Shumway. These districts remain safe for their respective political parties, so their successors will be determined in primaries. For incumbents seeking reelection, difficult races are anticipated only for Democrats George Brown, who is a perennial target, and Jim Bates, who has been made vulnerable by changes he made inappropriate sexual remarks to staffers and now faces a challenge in his own party primary.

In the Senate, Democrat Ruben Ayala in Southern California faces a tough challenge from Assemblyman Chuck Bader, and Republican Jim Nielsen faces a similar challenge in the northern part of the state.

In the Assembly, there are eight open seats, and all but one — the district made vacant when Democrat Lucy Killea moved to the Senate — should be fairly safe for one party or the other. Democrats Steve Clute, Pete Chacon, Norm Waters and first-termer Sal Canella all will be seriously challenged. Republicans Curt Pringle and possibly Tim Leslie may be in for a hard time. By mid-Summer, the rest of the "targets" should emerge as well, but thanks to Proposition 73, there should be fewer last-minute surprises this Autumn.

Congress

DISTRICT 1 (55% D - 34% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Doug Bosco of Sebastopol and Lionel Gambill of Occidental. Republicans: Frank Riggs of Windsor and Timothy Stoen of Ukiah. Peace and Freedom: Darlene Comingore of Sebastopol.

A coastal district where emotions have been made raw by environmental war over timber harvesting. Bosco, a four-term incumbent who always seems to draw primary opposition, slaughtered Gambill, an educator and writer, in 1988. No reason to suspect Gambill will do much better than the 14 percent he drew last time. On the Republican side, attorney Stoen has name recognition thanks to a stint as Jim Jones' legal advisor back in the days before Jones led his followers to tragedy in Guyana. The Jonestown connection gave Stoen a wealth of publicity when he announced his candidacy. He should emerge from the GOP primary and provide lively, if futile, competition for Bosco come November.

DISTRICT 2 (46% D - 43% R) — Democrat: Bill Rush of Red Bluff. Republican: Incumbent Wally Herger of Yuba City. Libertarian: Ross Crain of Los Molinos.

Herger's most serious challenge took place when he ran for his first term four years ago against a popular Shasta County supervisor. He won handily in 1988 and can look forward to a relatively easy campaign in 1990. Democrat Rush, a retired technical writer, will be hard-pressed to raise enough money to mount even a modest challenge.

DISTRICT 3 (56% D - 35% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Robert Matsui and James Walsh of Sacramento. Republicans: Eugene Borman of Fair Oaks and Lowell Landowski of Sacramento. Libertarian: David McCann of Orangevale.

This could be Bob Matsui's last run for the House of Representatives. The five-term incumbent announced earlier this year that he was giving serious thought to running for the U.S. Senate in 1992 when the seat now held by Alan Cranston comes up for election. Cranston, in political trouble over the collapse of Lincoln Savings and Loan, repeatedly has said he will seek reelection — a fact that does not seem to daunt Matsui or a host of other Democrats who covet the seat. In the past, Matsui has made noises about seeking some other office but always backed away. This time, however, he went so far as to alert two potential successors — Sacramento Assemblymen Lloyd Connelly and Phil Isenberg. Meanwhile, Matsui must seek a sixth term in the House. Republican Landowski has twice tried to retire

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Matsui, losing by 100,000 votes in 1988. Landowski's primary opponent is a veterinarian.

DISTRICT 4 (53% D - 36% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Vic Fazio of Sacramento and Stan Warner of Roseville. Republicans: Edward Anderson Jr. of Birds Landing, Mark Baughman of Orangevale, Thomas Koziol of Vacaville and Isaac Yonker of Benicia. Libertarian: Bryce Bigwood of Davis.

Fazio had a free ride in 1988, and it seems Republicans were determined not to let that happen again. Four — count 'em — four challengers are vying for the right to run against the five-term incumbent. Among those Republicans, Baughman would seem to have the best chance. An aide to state Senator John Doolittle, he has worked as a Senate consultant for more than a decade and is the only Republican with political or public-policy experience. As of mid-April, he had raised $11,000 — a pittance compared with Fazio's million-dollar war chest but probably enough to propel him through the primary. However, he'll need a carload of cash to unseat Fazio, one of Congress' most-successful fund raisers. Fazio's Democratic challenger, Stan Warner, isn't.

DISTRICT 5 (65% D - 19% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Nancy Pelosi. Republican: Alan Nichols. Both of San Francisco.

Attorney Nichols has no chance to unseat Pelosi.

DISTRICT 6 (59% D - 27% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Barbara Boxer of San Francisco. Republican: Bill Boerum of Greenbrae.

Boxer is another of the Democratic sharks circling the wounded Alan Cranston (see District 3). She can focus all of her energy on gearing up for a Senate drive in 1992 because Boerum, a banker, can't provide enough of a challenge to divert her attention in 1990.

DISTRICT 7 (54% D - 35% R) — Democrat: Incumbent George Miller of Pleasant Hill. Republicans: Roger Payton and Wil Watkins, both of Walnut Creek.

The East Bay area is growing apace, and much of that growth is concentrated in Contra Costa County. Rapid suburban growth tends to lean Republican, which accounts for the erosion of Democratic registration in Miller's district. That erosion is probably not enough to worry the 16-year incumbent, whose Republican challengers are a business administrator (Payton) and an artist (Watkins).

DISTRICT 8 (64% D - 24% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Ron Dellums of Oakland. Republicans: John Cuddihy Jr. of Lafayette and Barbara Galewski of Berkeley.

Cuddihy emerged from a hard-fought GOP primary to challenge Dellums in 1988. He fell short. Like 80,000 votes short, which is mostly the difference between voting strength in Democrat-dominated Oakland and Berkeley and affluent, Republican suburbs farther inland.

DISTRICT 9 (58% D - 30% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Pete Stark of Hayward. Republican: Victor Romero of Pleasanton.

Romero is a realtor. The on-going East Bay real estate boom shows no signs of slowing down. At least Romero can find solace in something this Fall.

DISTRICT 10 (57% D - 29% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Don Edwards of San Jose. Republicans: Lowell King of Fremont and Mark Patrosso of Cupertino.

Edwards, the soft-spoken leader of California's congressional delegation, drew two GOP challengers this year after running unopposed in 1988. The winner of the King-Patrosso primary will find tough sledding come November.

DISTRICT 11 (55% D - 32% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Tom Lantos of Burlingame. Republicans: Bill Quraishi of El Granada and Barbara Rathbun-Chiodo of Belmont. Libertarian: June Genis of Woodside.

Quraishi managed 24 percent of the vote against Lantos in 1988. Since then, Lantos has been all over the airwaves in his role as a tough congressional investigator looking into various savings-and-loan scandals. As though the five-term incumbent needed extra publicity. Quraishi's GOP primary opponent is a Belmont businesswoman.

DISTRICT 12 (44% D - 42% R) — Democrats: Gary Bond of Mountain View and Robert Palmer of Los Altos. Republican: Incumbent Tom Campbell of Stanford. Libertarian: Chuck Olson of Palo Alto.

Campbell, the Stanford prof who knocked off incumbent Ernie Konnyu in the 1988 GOP primary, recently was named among the 10 brightest members of Congress by Roll Call, *a Capitol Hill newspaper. The paper charactered him as a quick learner with a lot of raw brainpower. His Democratic opponents — consultant Bond or engineer Palmer — will need a miracle to pull off an upset. Bond ran in a crowded 1988 Democratic primary and polled 6 percent of the vote, far behind Anna Eshoo's winning 43 percent.*

DISTRICT 13 (49% D - 38% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Norm Mineta. Republican: David Smith. Libertarian: John Webster. All of San Jose.

If Democrats have their way with the next reapportionment, they might want to add a few more Democratic precincts to this district. Not that seven-term incumbent Mineta needs the help. Democratic registration may be under 50 percent, but Mineta traditionally polls two-thirds of the vote.

DISTRICT 14 (46% D - 44% R) — Democrats: Robert Ingraham of Livermore and Patricia Malberg of Lincoln. Republican: John Doolittle of Rocklin.

Poor Pat Malberg. She campaigned hard in 1988 against incumbent Norm Shumway, hammering away at the six-term veteran as too conservative for this Sierra foothill district. She raised lots of money without much outside help and managed to pare 10 percent off Shumway's 1986 victory margin. And throughout that uphill campaign, she maintained a cheerful optimism that, if she didn't get Shumway in 1988, she'd get him in 1990. Since then, she's continued to build a grassroots organization, gearing up for another run at Shumway. She may have gotten him, but not in the way she intended; in March, Shumway announced that he would not seek reelection. His retirement may have sunk Malberg for good, for into the GOP void stepped John Doolittle. Doolittle, chairman of the Senate Republican caucus, is a highly intelligent bedrock conservative whose state Senate district almost exactly parallels the 14th Congressional District. And for one reason or another, Doolittle has had to run in hotly contested races nearly every two years since the beginning of the decade. As a result, his name identification is high throughout the district, especially in vote-rich Placer and El Dorado counties. Malberg's only bright spot comes from the fact that Doolittle has never had to run in San Joaquin County where a third of the district's registered voters live. Unfortunately for Malberg, 43 percent of those San Joaquin voters consider themselves Republicans. A darling of conservatives throughout the country, Doolittle can expect to be well financed, as well. Poor Pat Malberg.

DISTRICT 15 (56% D - 35% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Gary Condit of Modesto. Republican: Cliff Burris of Merced.

Condit won this seat in a special 1989 election to fill a vacancy left by the resignation of Tony Coelho. Although Condit has yet to acquire Coelho's clout in Washington, he has the same kind of popularity in the district. Merced contractor Cliff Burris won't come close.

DISTRICT 16 (52% D - 35% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Leon Panetta of Carmel Valley and Arthur Dunn of Monterey. Republicans: Louis Darrigo of Aptos and Jerry Reiss of San Luis Obispo. Libertarian: Brian Tucker of Monterey.

Panetta is now one of Congress' most powerful and visible Democrats thanks to his chairmanship of the House Budget Committee. While trying to shepherd Congress through the federal budget-making process may be a daunting task, Panetta can view his reelection with less angst. Waiting for him on the electoral field is a familiar cast of characters. Dunn ran against Panetta in the Democratic primary two years ago and polled a whopping 5 percent of the vote. Republican Darrigo challenged the incumbent in 1986, running 60 percent behind. Darrigo also ran in the 1988 primary, losing to Stanley Monteith by less than 200 votes. Monteith then went on to lose to Panetta by 58 percent. All this can't be very encouraging for the other Republican primary contender, San Luis Obispo City Councilman Jerry Reiss.

DISTRICT 17 (49% D - 42% R) — Democrats: Calvin Dooley of Visalia, Paul Laygo and Archie Nahigian of Fresno. Republican: Incumbent Charles Pashayan Jr. of Fresno.

Democrats once thought Pashayan was the most vulnerable of the state's GOP congressmen. But they made their best run at him four years ago and fell 20 percent short. Since then, registration in this heart-of-California district has tilted even more in Pashayan's favor.

DISTRICT 18 (59% D - 33% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Richard Lehman of Fresno.

A bruising campaign season ahead. Brutal, very brutal. And expensive. In-fighting expected. Mud flung everywhere. Tight, very tight. Impossible to predict. Fate of the universe hangs in the balance and so on and so on and so on ...

DISTRICT 19 (46% D - 41% R) — Democrats: Anita Perez Ferguson of Santa Barbara and Mike McConnell of Ventura. Republicans: Incumbent Robert Lagomarsino and Alan Winterbourne, both of Ventura.

Bob Lagomarsino escaped with his political life two years ago when Gary Hart, blessed with a free ride in his state Senate district, tired of waiting for Lagomarsino to retire and took him on. A multi-million dollar campaign ended with the incumbent Republican 2300 votes ahead. Hart decided not to try again this year and is running for reelection to the Senate. Lagomarsino, meanwhile, has attracted a bevy of challengers, perhaps spurred on by Hart's close call in 1988. He should have no trouble with Winterbourne, a sys-

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tems engineer, in the primary. On the Democratic side, Ferguson is considered the stronger candidate. A former aide to Hart, she has been endorsed by him, and by the area's popular assemblyman Jack O'Connell. A Latina, she has strong ties to an Hispanic community that makes up about 30 percent of the district. Look for Lagomarsino's strong pro-life stance to become an issue in November.

DISTRICT 20 (47% D - 49% R) — Democrats: Lita Reid of Ridgecrest and Michael Thomas of Grover City. Republicans: Incumbent William Thomas of Bakersfield and Rod Gregory of Santa Clarita. Libertarian: William Dilbeck of Atascadero

Bill Thomas, seeking his seventh term in Congress, has drawn Santa Clarita businessman Rod Gregory as a primary opponent. Although the challenge will fall well short, it is symptomatic of moderate-conservative rifts within the Republican Party. Gregory is a bedrock conservative who plans to hit Thomas on his pro-choice stand, among other issues near and dear to conservatives. He's been endorsed by the conservative California Republican Assembly. Thomas, who has clashed often with conservatives like Bill Dannemeyer and Bob Dornan, is too well funded, however. On the Democratic side, journalist Lita Reid lost to Thomas in 1988 by nearly 100,000 votes. Her opponent is Grover City businessman Michael Thomas.

DISTRICT 21 (37% D - 53% R) — Democrat: Richard Freiman of Agoura. Republicans: Incumbent Elton Gallegly of Simi Valley and Sang Korman of Calabasas. Libertarian: Peggy Christensen of Granada Hills.

Gallegly, running for his third term in Congress, should have little difficulty beating back a challenge from either Korman or Freiman.

DISTRICT 22 (35% D - 55% R) — Democrats: David Bayer of Burbank and Tom Vournas of Altadena. Republican: Incumbent Carlos Moorhead of Glendale. Libertarian: William Wilson of Pasadena. Peace and Freedom: Jan Tucker of Toluca Lake.

Two educators square off in the Democratic primary. Neither has a chance to go to Congress.

DISTRICT 23 (54% D - 37% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Anthony Beilenson of Los Angeles. Republican: Jim Salomon of Beverly Hills. Peace and Freedom: John Honigsfeld of Los Angeles.

Salomon ran against Beilenson in 1988, losing two-to-one.

DISTRICT 24 (59% D - 28% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Henry Waxman of Los Angeles. Republican: John Cowles of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Vicki Murdock of Lakewood and Maggie Phair of Los Angeles.

Cowles ran against Waxman in 1988, losing three-to-one.

DISTRICT 25 (68% D - 22% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Ed Roybal of Pasadena. Republicans: Alexander Justice of Pasadena and Steven Rensnaw of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Robert Scott of Pasadena.

Republican Justice's middle name is "Swift". He'll get that from Roybal. A mercy killing.

DISTRICT 26 (57% D - 34% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Howard Berman of Panorama City and Scott Gaulke of Studio City. Republicans: Roy Dahlson of Van Nuys and Gary Forsch of Sun Valley. Libertarian: Bernard Zimring of Van Nuys.

Berman should be able to place most of his energies elsewhere.

DISTRICT 27 (54% D - 34% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Mel Levine of Los Angeles. Republicans: David Cohen of Los Angeles and Hans Yeager of Playa Del Rey. Peace and Freedom: Edward Ferrer of Venice.

Levine is sitting on a huge war chest that he would rather not use to win reelection in 1990. He would much rather spend that money on a bid for the U.S. Senate in 1992. Chances are neither author Cohen nor computer salesman Yeager will cause Levine to dip too far into that hoard.

DISTRICT 28 (72% D - 19% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Julian Dixon of Los Angeles. Republican: George Adams of Inglewood. Libertarian: Bob Weber of Culver City. Peace and Freedom: William Williams of Los Angeles.

Democratic registration has fallen a percentage point since 1988. To make the district competitive might take a few more years, however.

DISTRICT 29 (83% D - 11% R) — Democrats: Lionel Allen of Los Angeles, Ted Andromidas of Pasadena, Maxine Waters of Los Angeles and Twain Wilson of Los Angeles. Republican: Bill DeWitt of South Gate. Libertarian: Waheed Boctor of Los Angeles.

Ageless Gus Hawkins finally decided to hang up his spikes this season after 55 years in elective office, 29 of them in Congress. Given that four Democrats are vying to replace him, his departure looks like it has created a mad scramble. But looks are deceiving, for one of those Democrats is Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, who has represented this same area in Sacramento for 14 years and has waited patiently for Hawkins to retire. No other Democratic candidate in the race matches Waters' fund-raising ability, or her hard-driving campaign style, or her name recognition. And Republican DeWitt, a councilman from South Gate, is an afterthought in a district with 83 percent Democratic registration. And then, there's Lionel Allen. Lionel has run for Congress before — several times before — in several other districts — as a Republican. Now, he's here as a Democrat. And he's published a wonderfully cheeky brochure. Under the headline "Join the winning team," Lionel is shown in photos with the likes of Paula Abdul, Magic Johnson, Julian Dixon, Tom Bradley, Tom Cruise and — uh — Willie Brown. Brown denies he's endorsed Lionel. He firmly supports Maxine Waters. As, we suspect, will most district Democrats come election day.

M.Waters

DISTRICT 30 (58% D - 31% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Matthew Martinez of Montebello. Republican: Reuben Franco of Monterey Park. Libertarian: G. Curtis Feger of Monterey Park.

Ruben Franco must like to tilt at windmills. Two years ago, he ran for Congress against Gus Hawkins, losing by an eight-to-one margin. Now he's up against Matthew Martinez who has been able to dispatch a series of Republicans thanks to the support given him by the Berman-Waxman political operation.

DISTRICT 31 (72% D - 20% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Mervyn Dymally of Compton, Lawrence Grigsby of Los Angeles and Carl Robinson Sr. of Carson. Republican: Eunice Sato of Long Beach.

Incumbent Dymally, a former lieutenant governor, has drawn two opponents — an attorney/educator (Grigsby) and a retired postal worker (Robinson). He normally draws primary challenges, and he normally gets 80 percent of the vote. His GOP opponent, Sato, is a former member of the Long Beach City Council.

DISTRICT 32 (56% D - 35% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Glenn Anderson of Hawthorne. Republicans: Jerry Bakke of Lakewood and Sanford Kahn of Long Beach.

Kahn ran against Anderson in 1988. Anderson ran 11 percent ahead of registration.

DISTRICT 33 (42% D - 48% R) — Democrats: Garry Hamud of San Marino and Georgia Houston Webb of Claremont. Republican: Incumbent David Dreier of Covina. Libertarian: Gail Lightfoot of San Dimas.

Hamud is an attorney and educator. Webb is a college administrator. Dreier is an incumbent with a huge pile of campaign dough.

DISTRICT 34 (61% D - 31% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Esteban Torres. Republican: John Eastman. Both of West Covina.

Torres doesn't often run ahead of Democratic registration. Then again, he could run 10 percent behind Democratic registration and still win the election. Eastman is a West Covina businessman.

DISTRICT 35 (37% D - 52% R) — Democrat: Barry Norton of Montclair. Republicans: Incumbent Jerry Lewis and Mark Blankenship, both of Redlands. Libertarian: Jerry Johnson of Redlands.

Lewis wins easily over Blankenship, a lawyer. And come November, no Republican loses a 52 percent GOP district.

DISTRICT 36 (53% D - 38% R) — Democrat: Incumbent George Brown Jr. of Riverside. Republicans: Aloysius Casey and Bob Hammock, both of San Bernardino.

George Brown doesn't have four-time loser John Paul Stark to kick around this year, and that may be too bad for Brown. The Republican candidate will provide a stronger challenge to the 13-term incumbent. That challenger is expected to be Bob Hammock, a popular San Bernardino County supervisor. He has a strong fund-raising base and strong name indentification in his home county, where three-fourths of district voters live. Hammock's primary opponent, Al Casey, is no pushover, however. A retired Air Force general, Casey is considered bright and energetic. But he is handicapped by a lack of name recognition, and by the fact that he lives outside the district.

DISTRICT 37 (42% D - 48% R) — Democrats: Jeffrey Jacobs of Moreno Valley, Johnny Pearson of Perris and Ralph Waite of Rancho Mirage. Republicans: Incumbent Al McCand-

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less of Palm Desert and Bud Mathewson of Banning. American Independent: Gary Odom of Riverside. Libertarian: Bonnie Flickinger of Moreno Valley.

You'd expect the Palm Springs area to produce celebrity-politicians. After all, Sonny Bono is the mayor of Palm Springs. Now comes Ralph Waite, he of "The Waltons" fame, who wants to be a congressman. Waite is clearly the best known among the Democrats, and should out-distance Jacobs, an account manager, and Pearson, a retired military officer who lost to the incumbent two years ago by 80,000 votes. Waite is expected to pour a lot of money into the campaign, much of it on voter-registration drives. On the GOP side, Mathewson lost heavily to McCandless two years ago and poses no threat this time around.

DISTRICT 38 (48% D - 42% R) — Democrats: Art Hoffmann of Santa Ana and Barbara Jackson of Buena Park. Republican: Incumbent Bob Dornan of Garden Grove.

The chances that this would be any kind of meaningful race disappeared when screenwriter and Vietnam War activist Ron Kovic decided not to challenge Dornan. Hoffman, a technical writer, and Jackson, a family planning advocate, won't bring glitz to the race, as would Kovic. Look for abortion to be the key to any Dornan challenge, especially if Jackson wins the primary.

DISTRICT 39 (33% D - 58% R) — Democrats: John Black of Newport Beach, Frank Hoffman of Garden Grove, Anthony Roberts of Brea and Truman Swann of Anaheim. Republican: Incumbent Bill Dannemeyer of Fullerton. Peace and Freedom: Maxine Quirk of Orange.

There are 75,000 more registered Republicans than Democrats in this Orange County district. Are there really four Democrats who think they can win? Even if the Republican is Bill Dannemeyer?

DISTRICT 40 (30% D - 59% R) — Democrat: Eugene Gratz of Laguna Beach. Republican: Incumbent Christopher Cox of Newport Beach.

An Orange County district that is impossible for a Democrat, as attorney Gratz will discover come November. Freshman Cox should skate back to Washington in his first reelection.

DISTRICT 41 (38% D - 48% R) — Democrat: Dan Kripke of La Jolla. Republican: Incumbent Bill Lowery of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Karen Works of San Diego.

Lowery, who represents most of San Diego's Republicans, beat Kripke by 90,000 votes in 1988.

DISTRICT 42 (36% D - 53% R) — Democrats: James Cavuoto of Torrance, Guy Kimbrough at Huntington Beach and Bryan Stevens of Rolling Hills Estates. Republican: Incumbent Dana Rohrabacher of Long Beach. Libertarian: Richard Martin of Gardena.

GOP registration in this oceanside district is just too overwhelming for Democrats. Freshman Rohrabacher should have an easy time of it. Kimbrough ran against Rohrabacher two years ago, losing by 70,000 votes.

DISTRICT 43 (30% D - 56% R) — Republican: Incumbent Ron Packard of Oceanside. Libertarian: Rick Arnold of Encinitas. Peace and Freedom: Doug Hansen of San Diego.

Packard can vacation throughout this election season.

DISTRICT 44 (55% D - 33% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Jim Bates and Bryon Georgiou, both of San Diego. Republicans: Randy Cunningham of Chula Vista, Eric Epifano of San Diego, Joe Ghougassian of Chula Vista, Ken Harrell of Spring Valley and Jim Lantry of San Diego. Libertarian: John Wallner of La Jolla. Peace and Freedom: Donna White of San Diego.

Jim Bates has been a member of Congress since 1982 and an elected official of one sort or another in San Diego since 1971. Given that history, and given that his district is a relatively safe Democratic haven, you wouldn't think the 48-

Bates

Georgiou

year-old incumbent would draw such a crowd of challengers. But Bates has been at the center of controversy for more than two years over charges that he sexually harrassed female members of his staff. After investigating those charges, the House Ethics Committee formally reprimanded Bates late last year, and opponents came out of the woodwork. Bates, however, is an active and energetic campaigner. And he'll need to be. To begin with, he has a formidable primary opponent in Georgiou, once Governor Jerry Brown's legal-affairs advisor. Although Georgiou has little party support, he is a proven fund raiser who used his talents most recently in 1988 on behalf of Michael Dukakis. He is expected to hammer away at Bates' Ethics Committee reprimand. The Republican's main hope is that Bates will emerge victorious but weakened from the Democratic primary. On the GOP side, Ghougassian has a mile-long resume that includes a stint at the White House as Ronald Reagan's special advisor on the Camp David accord, four years as U.S. ambassador to the Persian Gulf country of Qatar (1985 to 1989) and 16 years as a philosophy professor at UC San Diego. He has been able to raise $35,000 for his first foray into elective politics and has hired a campaign team that includes, among others, GOP pollster Lance Tarrance. His main competition will probably come from Cunningham, a businessman and highly decorated Navy pilot — a plus in an area filled with retired Navy personnel. Cunningham also has won the endorsement of the area's Republican congressman, Duncan Hunter.

DISTRICT 45 (37% D - 50% R) — Republican: Incumbent Duncan Hunter of La Mesa. Libertarian: Joe Shea of El Cajon.

Hunter returns to Washington for his fifth term.

Senate

DISTRICT 2 (56% D - 32% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Barry Keene of Vallejo. Republican: Margie Handley of Willits.

A district at war with itself may produce an interesting grudge match come November. The civil war pits environmentalists against the timber industry over the harvest of old-growth redwoods. The grudge match pits Senate Majority Leader Keene against Handley, a former Deukmejian appointee to the California Transportation Commission. Bad feelings between the two stem from Keene's attempt to torpedo her appointment. Although Handley was eventually confirmed by the Senate, Keene led the opposition, questioning her business practices as owner of an asphalt company. Handley, whose father is a major Republican donor, is expected to run an aggressive campaign but to date has not raised much money. She is said to be very wealthy, and Keene's level of difficulty could be determined by how much of her own money Handley is willing to commit to the race.

DISTRICT 4 (49% D - 41% R) — Democrats: Charlie Cochran of Rohnert Part and Mike Thompson of St. Helena. Republican: Incumbent Jim Nielsen of Rohnert Park. Libertarian: Juanita Hendricks of Red Bluff. Peace and Freedom: Irv Sutley of Glen Ellen.

Jim Nielsen will have a serious challenge regardless of which Democrat emerges from a toss-up primary. The early edge goes to Cochran, the mayor of Rohnert Park. He has been endorsed by a large number of local elected officials and by state Senator John Garamendi. In addition, his campaign his being managed by veteran Rose King. Thompson, a longtime legislative aide, is former staff director for Assemblywoman Jackie

Cochran

Thompson

Speier. Most of his endorsements come from Sacramento-based Democrats, including senators close to President pro Tempore David Roberti and the area's Democratic Assembly members. Both candidates are well-financed, and each has been actively campaigning for months. Nielsen's hardline conservative stance on issues like gay rights and abortion could figure here in November.

DISTRICT 6 (57% D - 34% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Leroy Greene of Carmichael. Republican: Joe Sullivan of Sacramento. Libertarian: Larry Murray of North Highlands.

Leroy Greene can breathe a bit easier in 1990. Four years ago, he was challenged by Republican Sandy Smoley, a popular Sacramento County supervisor, in what turned out to be the dirtiest campaign of 1986. Greene was accused of encouraging children to smoke dope and of being a friend to prostitutes and murderers. Still, he crushed Smoley in what many observers thought would be a very close race. That lesson was not lost on Sullivan, a retired geological engineer and consultant, who says he'll run a more elevated campaign. Sullivan, an elected member of Northridge Water District, has some name recognition in the district after having run for the Sacramento Municipal Utility District board in 1988. Underfinanced, he finished second although being outspent 10-to-one by the eventual winner.

DISTRICT 8 (64% D - 22% R) — Democrats: Patrick Fitzgerald and Jim Wachob. Republi-

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cans: Hans Ha ısson and Robert Silvestri. All of San Francisc o.

A contested primary on both sides, and no incumbent in sight. But lest you think this is an open seat, be advised that, come November, the two primary winners will have to square off against the Legislature's lone independent — Quentin Kopp. Kopp, a former San Francisco supervisor, first won this seat in 1986 following a bruising battle with former Democratic Assemblyman Lou Papan, now a candidate for the Board of Equalization. Kopp was outspent in that race two-to-one but still pulled off the victory. This time, he won't even be outspent. Republicans indicate they may run an aggressive campaign. If so, they still won't get their candidate elected but may succeed in harming Kopp.

DISTRICT 10 (5[illegible]% D - 32% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Bill Lockyer of Hayward. Republican: Howard Hertz of San Leandro.

This Hertz won't be number one when the votes are counted in November.

DISTRICT 12 (5[illegible]% D - 36% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Dan McCorquodale of San Jose. Republicans: Lori Kennedy of Milpitas and Mark Morger of Modesto.

Dan McCorquodale spent $1 million to keep this seat in 1986 — a four-fold increase over what he had spent to oust an incumbent back in 1982. But McCorquodale was the Senate Republicans' top target in 1986 and his opponent was San Jose County Supervisor Tom Legan. This time around, he would seem to have an easier road. Still, Republicans think the incumbent is too liberal for the district, especially for Stanislaus County, where nearly half the district's registered voters live. The GOP primary is a toss-up. Morger, a Modesto real estate trustee, is backed by local GOP heavyweight Clare Berryhill.

DISTRICT 14 (50% D - 40% R) — Republican: Incumbent Ken Maddy of Fresno.

"Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor ..."

DISTRICT 16 (51% D - 40% R) — Democrats: Carl Bryan, Ray Gonzales and Robert Spencer, all of Bakersfield. Republican: Incumbent Don Rogers of Bakersfield. Libertarian: Kenneth Saurenman of Pasadena.

Rogers had a tough race four years ago when he sought to move from the Assembly into a Senate seat left vacant by the retirement of the late Walter Stiern. Both Republicans and Democrats made the race their top priority for 1986; Democrats spent $1.4 million but fell 7000 votes short. It was probably their best chance to win this seat, for GOP registration gains during the past four years have made this district easier for Rogers. Among the Democratic challengers, Gonzales served one term in the Assembly back in 1972-74 but was defeated in his first reelection bid by Bill Thomas now a member of Congress.

DISTRICT 18 (47% D - 40% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Gary Hart of Santa Barbara. Republican: Carey Rogers of Santa Barbara. Libertarian: Jay Wood of Port Hueneme.

Two years ago Gary Hart tried to be a member of Congress, suffering a narrow defeat at the hands of Republican incumbent Robert Lagomarsino. Some thought he might try again, but Hart opted for a third term in the Senate (he also served four terms in the Assembly). The registration figures in this coastal district indicate a precarious perch for Hart, but his personal popularity and his reputation for hard work and integrity have allowed him to run well ahead of registration. Businesswoman Carey Rogers will require a lot of money and resources from Sacramento Republicans to cut into that popularity, and the money is probably not available. Not against someone like Hart.

DISTRICT 20 (56% D - 34% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Alan Robbins of Van Nuys. Republican: David Podegracz of Van Nuys. Libertarian: William Mirken of Sepulveda.

Robbins' name was linked repeatedly with legislative sleeze during the trial of former Senator Joseph Montoya. His percentage of the vote will probably drop as a result, but not enough to retire him.

DISTRICT 22 (59% D - 31% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Herschel Rosenthal and William Graysen, both of Los Angeles. Republican: Michael Schrager of Santa Monica. Peace and Freedom: Margery Hinds of Los Angeles.

Rosenthal, who has served in the Legislature since 1974, has a primary challenge in Grayson, a Beverly Hills attorney who thinks it's time for a change. Without substantial funding, he'll have a difficult time getting his message out to enough voters.

DISTRICT 24 (66% D - 23% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Art Torres of West Covina. Republicans: Don Carney of South Pasadena and Keith Marsh of Los Angeles. Libertarian: David Wilson of Los Angeles.

Art Torres has endured personal problems during the past four years, including an arrest for drunk driving. Those problems won't bother him at the polls, however, as he seeks his third term in the Senate. Carney produces educational videos; Marsh is an attorney.

DISTRICT 26 (60% D - 30% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Charles Calderon of Montebello. Republican: Joe Urquidi of Alhambra. Libertarian: Kim Goldsworthy of Rosemead.

Charles Calderon was one of the guiding lights behind the Assembly's Gang of Five a few years ago, and he has been itching to move on ever since the Gang's rebellion against Speaker Willie Brown fell flat following the 1988 elections. The gold-plated opportunity to escape the Assembly presented itself early this year when incumbent Joe Montoya resigned the Senate after being convicted of extortion in federal court. Calderon entered an April special election to replace Montoya, winning the seat outright with more than 50 percent of the vote in the primary. Now, he can begin to pick up the pieces — the political pieces left behind in this district by Montoya, and the pieces of his own career left dangling by the Gang of Five episode. Oh, yes, a Republican will challenge in November. Joe Urquidi, an Alhambra businessman, is the first Republican to run in this Senate district since 1982.

DISTRICT 28 (73% D - 18% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Diane Watson. Peace and Freedom: Ivan Kasimoff. Both of Los Angeles.

"... Suit the action to the word, the word to the action ..."

DISTRICT 30 (67% D - 23% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Ralph Dills of Gardena. Republican: Tim Poling of Long Beach.

The year Ralph Dills first came to the Legislature, "The Wizard of Oz" was still just a children's book, Lyndon Johnson was an obscure congressman from the Texas hill country, David Roberti wasn't born yet, and the Chicago Cubs won the National League pennant — 1938.

DISTRICT 32 (43% D - 48% R) — Democrats: Evelyn Colon Becktell of Santa Ana and John Duran of Anaheim. Republican: Incumbent Ed Royce of Anaheim.

Over a third of this district is Latino, but Latino voter registration is poor and voter turnout traditionally low. Thus, whichever Democrat wins the June primary can look forward to a suicide run in November against two-term incumbent Ed Royce.

DISTRICT 34 (50% D - 41% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Ruben Ayala of San Bernardino. Republican: Charles Bader of Pomona.

Why would an incumbent assemblyman, snug in a safe district, risk his political career to challenge a four-term senator who has held this seat since 1974? One look at registration figures holds a clue. In 1986, when Ayala last ran for reelection, Democrats held a 53-37 percent reg-

Ayala

Bader

istration edge. Since then, communities like San Bernardino, Pomona and Ontario have experienced explosive growth, and these new district voters don't know Ruben Ayala. Not only that, 10,000 more of them tend to be Republicans. Plus, Ayala has not built the kind of Senate career that enables a Gary Hart or a Bob Presley to overcome marginal Democratic registration. Still, Ayala is a tough Democrat to overcome because private polls show him in tune with constituents on key issues such as gun control. Plus, he has political wizard Larry Sheingold running his campaign. In a year with few opportunities for either party to knock off an incumbent, this will probably be the Senate's most expensive race. Both candidates are experienced fund raisers who can expect a lot of help from Sacramento colleagues.

DISTRICT 36 (46% D - 45% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Robert Presley of Riverside. Republicans: Raymond Haynes of Moreno Valley and Robert Nowell of Corona.

Presley rolls along. The quietest Riverside-area race of 1990. Republicans' only hope is that voters statewide will be in a mood to dump incumbents.

DISTRICT 38 (33% D - 52% R) — Republican: Incumbent Bill Craven of Oceanside. Libertarian: Scott Olmsted of Encinitas. Peace and Freedom: Jane Rocio Evans of San Diego.

"... with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature."

DISTRICT 40 (53% D - 35% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Wadie Deddeh of Bonita. Republican: Muriel Watson of Bonita. Libertarian: Eric Moths of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Roger Batchelder of San Diego.

Batchelder, the P&F candidate, describes himself as a "peon."

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ASSEMBLY

DISTRICT 1 (48% D - 41% R) — Democrat: Arlie Caudle. Republican: Incumbent Stan Statham. Both of Redding.

Caudle, a retired teacher, has gone up against Statham twice before, losing by 47,000 in 1986 and 53,000 votes in 1988.

DISTRICT 2 (57% D - 31% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Dan Hauser of Arcata. Republican: Tim Willis of Cotati. Peace and Freedom: Bruce Anderson of Boonville.

Come November, Tim Willis, a wood-products salesman and Baptist minister, will take on a well-financed, four-term incumbent. Willis is unknown, has raised little money and has few prospects for building a respectable campaign treasury. In fact, Willis is not as well known as the Peace and Freedom candidate — Bruce Anderson, outspoken editor and publisher of the Anderson Valley Advertiser *— whose presence in the Fall campaign should enliven the proceedings.*

DISTRICT 3 (44% D - 45% R) — Democrat: Lon Hatamiya of Marysville. Republican: Incumbent Chris Chandler of Yuba City.

This eagle-shaped district sprawls across northern California, extending from the Nevada border west through the Sierra and the rich farmland north of Sacramento. Registration keeps shifting more and more toward the Republican Party. For instance, when incumbent Chandler first ran for election back in 1986, Democrats held a 46-42 percent edge and entertained some hopes that a conservative Democrat could steal the district. Now, their candidates represent little more than sacrificial lambs.

DISTRICT 4 (55% D - 32% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Tom Hannigan of Fairfield. Republican: John Ford of Dixon. Libertarian: Jack Presley of Davis.

Republican Ford is back for another try at Hannigan, the Assembly majority leader. Hannigan won their first contest, in 1988, by 43,000 votes.

DISTRICT 5 (48% D - 42% R) — Democrat: Joe Buonaiuto of Orangevale. Republicans: Incumbent Tim Leslie of Carmichael and Don Werve of Citrus Heights.

Leslie picked up a primary challenger in management consultant Don Werve. Werve, however, is woefully underfinanced, and Leslie should brush him aside. Leslie's November opponent, Buonaiuto, is an elected member of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District board of directors who has been known to conduct exhaustive door-to-door campaigns. His SMUD connection may not be a plus, however; in 1988 voters shut down the utility's Rancho Seco nuclear-power plant, and Buonaiuto was on the losing side. In addition, Democratic voter strength has continued to erode, down from a 51-39 percent advantage held in 1984 — the last time a Democrat was elected in this district.

Buonaiuto

Leslie

DISTRICT 6 (56% D - 35% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Lloyd Connelly. Republican: George Marsh. Libertarian: Barbara Engelhardt. All of Sacramento.

GOP registration keeps creeping up in this Sacramento district but not enough to seriously worry Connelly. Marsh declared his candidacy soon after the 1988 election but to date has run a quiet campaign.

DISTRICT 7 (49% D - 40% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Norm Waters and Christopher Carrillo, both of Plymouth. Republican: David Knowles of Sacramento.

Two years ago, Waters' laser-thin victory over Republican Knowles wasn't decided until all the absentee ballots were counted a week after the polls closed. The contest itself was expensive and extremely nasty. Since then, the incumbent has improved his district operations. And challengers who come close the first time out often fall significantly short for their encores. But Waters' road to an eighth term will be rocky nonetheless. To begin with, Democratic voter registration in this largely rural, mountainous district has slipped below 50 percent for the first time. Plus, Waters has a primary opponent — Carrillo, 31 — who doesn't have the resources to knock Waters off but could prove a nuisance well past June, especially if he carries out a threat to run as a write-in come November. Finally, Waters has been targeted by the GOP in a year where it has few viable chances to unseat a Democratic incumbent. This means lots and lots of money and resources for Knowles, who never stopped campaigning after his '88 defeat. The money alone may make this November's most expensive Assembly contest.

DISTRICT 8 (52% D - 38% R) — Republican: Incumbent Bev Hansen of Santa Rosa. Libertarian: Eric Roberts of Woodland.

"By the old Moulmein Pagoda, lookin' eastward to the sea ..."

DISTRICT 9 (53% D - 34% R) — Democrat: Vivien Bronshvag of Kentfield. Republican: Incumbent Bill Filante of San Rafael. Libertarian: Bill Bright of Petaluma. Peace and Freedom: Coleman Persily of San Rafael.

This affluent Marin County district annually seems to draw candidates connected with the medical profession. Filante is a doctor, and two years ago his Democratic opponent also was a doctor. This time, his opponent is the wife of a doctor. Filante, who has served six terms in the Assembly, traditionally runs 20 percent ahead of Republican registration and Democrats have yet to figure out the formula for reducing his share of the vote. They won't be helped by Proposition 73, which restricts their ability to transfer money from Assembly incumbents to unknown challengers like Bronshvag.

DISTRICT 10 (56% D - 34% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Phil Isenberg of Sacramento. Republicans: Jeff Clark of Antioch and Tom Griffin of Sacramento. Libertarian: Chris Rufer of Woodland.

Republicans went after Isenberg with a vengance in 1988, spending over $750,000 in an effort to unseat him. Along the way, his opponent — Sacramento sheriff's lieutenant Larry Bowler — ran a nasty campaign, including one mailer that accused Isenberg of accepting campaign contributions from "the drug paraphernalia industry." This time, Isenberg will face either Contra Costa County businessman Jeff Clark or Sacramento businessman Tom Griffin, and there is no indication that either candidate will offer a Bowler-like challenge.

DISTRICT 11 (63% D - 25% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Bob Campbell of Richmond.

"... There's a Burma girl a-settin', an' I know she thinks o' me ..."

DISTRICT 12 (63% D - 23% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Tom Bates of Berkeley. Republican: Jonathan Gear of Oakland. Peace and Freedom: Marsha Feinland of Berkeley.

Bates consistently racks up over 70 percent of the vote in this heavily Democratic district, the last two elections against Republican Jerald Udinsky. This time around, he'll face Oakland businessman Jonathan Gear.

DISTRICT 13 (73% D - 15% R) — Democrats: Aleta Cannon, Aubrey LaBrie and Barbara Lee, all of Oakland. Republicans: Dennis Fassett of Oakland and Barbara Thomas of Alameda.

Six-term incumbent Elihu Harris is leaving the Assembly to run for mayor of Oakland and his successor will be elected in the Democratic primary where all three candidates have legislative connections. Lee would seem to be the early front-runner. A veteran staffer for the area's congressman, Ron Dellums, she has a well-organized campaign and has been the most successful

Cannon

Lee

fund-raiser. She has also picked up endorsements from a significant regiment of incumbent Democrats, including Assembly Majority Leader Tom Hannigan, Johan Klehs, Maxine Waters, Delaine Eastin, Phil Isenberg, Bob Campbell, Tom Bates, John Burton, area Congressman Ron Dellums, and area Senators Nick Petris and Bill Lockyer. Cannon will provide the strongest challenge to Lee. A member of the Oakland City Council, she has wide name indentification. She also works for Harris, although the incumbent has not endorsed any of the candidates. LaBrie is an attorney who works for the Legislature as a consultant to the Joint Committee on Organized Crime and Gang Violence. He is thought to be bright and energetic but underfunded and therefore a longshot.

DISTRICT 14 (64% D - 25% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Johan Klehs of San Leandro. Republican: Don Grundmann of San Leandro. Libertarian: Wayne Nygren of Hayward.

A solidly Democratic East Bay district where incumbent Klehs consistently runs ahead of registration. Republican Grundmann, a chiropractor, won't pull an upset.

DISTRICT 15 (37% D - 51% R) — Democrat: Wendell Williams of Walnut Creek. Repub-

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licans: Incumbent Bill Baker of Danville.
A solidly Republican East Bay district where incumbent Baker consistently runs ahead of registration. Democrat Villiams, who lost to Baker in 1988, won't pull an upset. Sounds familiar, doesn't it?

DISTRICT 16 (68% D - 15% R) — Democrat: Incumbent John Burton of San Francisco.
"... For the wind is in the palm trees, an' the temple bells they say ..."

DISTRICT 17 (64% D - 20% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Willie Brown Jr. Republican: Terence Faulkner. Libertarian: John Whisman. All of San Francisco.
Buried deep within every election season lately seems to be some kind of referendum on Willie Brown. In 1988, for instance, he faced the Gang of Five rebellion from within Democratic ranks, an uprising squashed when Democrats gained three seats and provided Brown with a 41-vote majority without the Gang. In 1990 there is no rebellion, the Gang of Five has been neutralized and, with one or two exceptions, Assembly Democrats are snug in their districts. But there are clouds, nonetheless. First of all, Proposition 73 has cut into Brown's ability to raise money and transfer it to other Democrats — one source of his power. And although he faces no apparent challenges to his speakership inside the Assembly, reform-minded forces outside the Legislature are massing around several initiatives that threaten to diminish the speaker's power: especially, two-term limits on legislative service and reapportionment. And when those forces campaign for their initiatives, the politician they'll probably thump on is Willie Brown. Meanwhile, Brown must seek reelection from the 17th District against San Francisco businessman Terence Faulkner. There, at least, it's no contest.

DISTRICT 18 (54% D - 33% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Delaine Eastin of Union City.
"... 'Come you back, you British soldier; come you back to Mandalay!' ..."

DISTRICT 19 (60% D - 26% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Jackie Speier of South San Francisco.
"... Come you back to Mandalay, where the old Flotilla lay ..."

DISTRICT 20 (46% D - 42% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Ted Lempert of San Mateo. Republicans: Jim Bosse of Woodside and James Rinehart of Menlo Park. American Independent: Carl Sigmund of Redwood City. Libertarian: Chris Inama of San Carlos.
Ted Lempert pulled off the legislative upset of 1988 when he defeated GOP incumbent Bill Duplissea. He accomplished this feat in what should be a safe Republican district by walking precincts non-stop for months and by hammering away at issues like legislative reform and environmental improvement. Since then Lempert has adopted the Jack O'Connell (35th Assembly District) method of handling a marginal district — never stop campaigning. Lempert has continued his precinct-walking and generally made himself visible and available to constituents. Still, GOP registration makes this a tough district for Democrats who must turn out a high proportion of their voters on election day. Among Republicans, Reinhart seems to have the upper hand, with important support from the local Lincoln Club and a better campaign management team.

DISTRICT 21 (53% D - 32% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Byron Sher of Stanford. Republican: Eric Garris of Mountain View.
Republicans at least offered Sher a challenge this year; in 1988 he ran unopposed. His November opponent, Garris, is the director of the Libertarian Republicans of California and a publisher of various newsletters. He expresses the very non-Republican view that drugs ought to be legalized. Garris says he'll raise between $50,000 and $100,000 and has been promised fund-raising help from the area's Republican congressman, Tom Campbell. He may need much more money than that to make a dent in Sher's popularity. The last Republican to run against Sher lost by 38,000 votes (1986).

DISTRICT 22 (41% D - 47% R) — Democrat: Bob Levy of Campbell. Republican: Incumbent Charles Quackenbush of San Jose. Libertarian: Jon Petersen of Cupertino.
Democrat Levy is a computer systems analyst who won't provide much of a roadblock to Quackenbush's third term.

DISTRICT 23 (59% D - 29% R) — Democrat: Incumbent John Vasconcellos of Santa Clara. Republicans: Henry Cate III of Santa Clara and Monica Valladares of San Jose.
As chairman of the Assembly's Select Committee on Ethics, John Vasconcellos had the unenviable task of convincing colleagues to limit their ability to earn extra money in the form of honoraria and gifts, and to tighten conflict-of-interest provisions. He will have a much easier time convincing San Jose voters to return him to the Legislature for the 13th time. The Republicans who will try to prevent his return trip are Cate, a software engineer, and Valladares, a businesswoman.

DISTRICT 24 (53% D - 35% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Dom Cortese and Pearle Woodall. Republican: Ron Granada. Libertarian: Bruce Sommer. All of San Jose.
Incumbent Cortese has a new job in Sacramento, a new basketball team in San Jose, a new ration of bad publicity, and primary challenge. The job: chairman of the Water, Parks and Wildlife Committee. The team: the minor-league San Jose Jammers. The bad publicity: fallout from revelations that a lobbyist arranged for his house to be painted for free. The primary opponent: Pearle Woodall. Woodall is in her first term as an elected member of the Franklin McKinley School Board. With $100,000, she feels she can knock off Cortese, although she had raised only $10,000 as of the first week of April. She plans a door-to-door campaign to push her pro-choice stance on abortion, which seems to be the main reason she is running. To this end, she's been endorsed by California NOW. It is her only major endorsement, however, and she must be considered a long shot. Meanwhile, Republicans' interest in Cortese perked up after a Sacramento lobbyist pled "no contest" to charges that he arranged to have Cortese's house painted. As a result, they are making loud noises about gunning for Cortese come November.

DISTRICT 25 (53% D - 36% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Rusty Areias of Los Banos. Republicans: Carl Cieslikowski of Salinas and Ben Gilmore of Morgan Hill. Libertarian: Mark Hinkle of San Jose.
Republican Gilmore has twice challenged Areias, and twice been bashed. Cieslikowski is a deputy probation officer. Should he defeat Gilmore in the primary, he, too, will be bashed by Areias.

DISTRICT 26 (57% D - 35% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Pat Johnston of Stockton. Republican: Bradley Keaster of Manteca. Libertarian: Debra Klohs of Stockton.
Republican Keaster is a highway patrolman who won't be able to arrest Johnston's march toward a sixth term.

DISTRICT 27 (55% D - 37% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Sal Cannella of Ceres. Republican: Richard Lang of Modesto. Libertarian: Roy Shimp of Merced.
Until last Fall, this seat was occupied by Democrat Gary Condit who has since moved on to Washington and the House of Representatives. Democrat Cannella won a special election in January 1990, defeating Modesto City Councilman Lang by 4000 votes. Republicans, conceding nothing, have made Cannella their Number One target for November. In a novel switch on the traditional, Republicans are now saying their chances improve dramatically in general elections. It's the special elections that cause them problems because too many of the so-called "swing" voters stay away from the polls. Sounds like revisionist history to us, but they could get a chance to prove the theory in this district come November.

DISTRICT 28 (55% D - 31% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Sam Farr of Carmel. Republican: West Walker of Santa Cruz.
West Walker lists his occupation as an entertainer. He should entertain this fact: Sam Farr won this district two years ago by 60,000 votes.

DISTRICT 29 (40% D - 48% R) — Democrat: John Lybarger of San Luis Obispo. Republican: Incumbent Eric Seastrand of Salinas.
Democrat Lybarger is a retired teacher. Republican Seastrand is a four-term incumbent who routinely wins by 40,000 or more votes in a district that is solidly GOP. The chances that Lybarger will win the seat in 1990 are roughly the same as the chances that Los Angeles will win the NBA title in 1990. That's the Los Angeles Clippers.

DISTRICT 30 (60% D - 31% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Jim Costa of Fresno. Republicans: Gerald Hurt of Hanford and Bob Whalen of Fresno.
Whalen is an investment executive; Hurt is a businessman. One of them will be able to say that he won an election in 1990. One election. Costa beat Hurt in 1988 by 44,000 votes.

DISTRICT 31 (57% D - 35% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Bruce Bronzan of Fresno.
"... Can't you 'ear their paddles chunkin' ..."

DISTRICT 32 (44% D - 47% R) — Democrat: Bernie McGoldrick of Oakhurst. Republican: Incumbent Bill Jones of Fresno.
McGoldrick is a professor of political science at Fresno State University who lists Democratic Assemblyman Jim Costa among his former students. This is his first foray into elective politics, and he candidly admits that raising campaign money will be a problem. He'll try to counter a lack of cash with an extensive grassroots organization. There may not be enough people, however, to overcome Jones' edge in both money and voter registration.

DISTRICT 33 (50% D - 42% R) — Republican: Incumbent Trice Harvey of Bakersfield.
"... from Rangoon to Mandalay? ..."

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DISTRICT 34 (41% D - 50% R) — Republican: Incumbent Phil Wyman of Tehachapi. Libertarian: Ronald Tisbert of Palandale.

"... O the road to Mandalay ..."

DISTRICT 35 (49% D - 37% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Jack O'Connell of Carpinteria. Republican: Connie O'Shaughnessy of Santa Barbara.

One thing is certain about this race: Jack O'Connell won't win both the Democratic and Republican nominations, as he did with a sly write-in campaign on the GOP side in 1988. O'Shaughnessy's appearance on the ballot ensures a contest come November. On the face of it, Republicans might seem to have a strong chance to win the seat. But registration figures here are misleading, for O'Connell has worked hard to cultivate a loyal, cross-party following. O'Shaughnessy's fight is uphill all the way.

DISTRICT 36 (38% D - 51% R) — Democrat: Ginny Connell of Thousand Oaks. Republicans: Incumbent Tom McClintock of Thousand Oaks and Kevin Staker of Camarillo. Libertarian: David Harner of Newbury Park.

Republican McClintock's biggest battles of late have come inside the Republican Assembly Caucus where he has been a persistent critic of Minority Leader Ross Johnson. Still, Johnson maintains that he did not inspire McClintock's primary challenge and endorses the incumbent's reelection bid. Without backing from Johnson, Staker's a goner.

DISTRICT 37 (36% D - 53% R) — Democrat: Dennis Petrie of Chatsworth. Republicans: Incumbent Cathie Wright of Simi Valley and Hunt Braly of Santa Clarita. Libertarian: John Spooner Sr. of Lompoc.

Cathie Wright long has coveted a seat in the state Senate, mostly the seat held by fellow Republican Ed Davis. This not-so-secret desire naturally miffs Davis. So when Wright was wounded by publicity surrounding her daughter's legal troubles (over a bad driving record), it was no surprise that a former Davis aide jumped in to take

Wright

Braly

her on in the GOP primary. The 30ish Braly has been around politics for most of the decade: as a member of the state GOP central committee, as state youth co-chairman of Ronald Reagan's 1980 campaign, as Southern California field director for Pete Wilson's 1982 senatorial campaign, and finally as Davis' chief of staff. Naturally, Davis has endorsed Braly, as have several local elected officials. But Assembly Republicans, who have have rallied around Wright, think she'll emerge victorious.

DISTRICT 38 (42% D - 49% R) — Democrats: Irene Allert of Burbank and Gary Crandall of Granada Hills. Republicans: Paula Boland of Granada Hills, Bob Scott of Sherman Oaks, Hal Styles of Woodland Hills, Al Thomas of Burbank and Robert Wilcox of Northridge. Peace and Freedom: Charles Najbergier of Northridge and Leah Parker of Burbank.

Incumbent Marian LaFollette decided not to seek reelection, throwing this district open to whichever Republican can emerge from the primary. So far, it is a contest between no-names. LaFollette

Boland

Scott

Styles

Wilcox

is trying to pass the baton to her administrative assistant, 24-year-old Robert Wilcox. But he'll get a strong challenge from two other candidates. Bob Scott, a 43-year-old attorney and political activist, has reportedly raised between $50,000 and $60,000. He has some electoral experience, having run for the Assembly in 1976 against Democratic incumbent Tom Bane. He lost by 30,000 votes in a heavily Democratic district. He is pro-choice, which could matter in a close contest in this "year of the abortion campaign." Paula Boland, a realtor, is pro-life and has been able to raise some campaign cash as well, although she is the least known among the three front-runners. A fun little sidelight: Wilcox used to be an aide to state Senator Ed Davis; Boland is supported by Cathie Wright (see District 37).

DISTRICT 39 (57% D - 34% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Richard Katz of Panorama City. Republican: Sam Ceravolo of Sun Valley.

Katz scored his biggest victory margin ever in 1988. Ceravolo, a vocational counselor, will have to spend about a zillion dollars to make any kind of race.

DISTRICT 40 (55% D - 35% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Tom Bane of Tarzana and Glenn Bailey of Reseda. Republican: Helen Gabriel of Van Nuys. Libertarian: John Vernon of Van Nuys.

Bane, chairman of the Assembly Rules Committee, won't have much trouble beating off challenges from Democrat Bailey or Republican Gabriel.

DISTRICT 41 (41% D - 50% R) — Democrats: Jeanette Mann of Pasadena and Rod McKenzie of Altadena. Republican: Incumbent Pat Nolan of Glendale. Libertarian: Curtis Helms of Pasadena. Peace and Freedom: David Velasquez of Glendale.

Pat Nolan was one of four lawmakers whose offices were raided by the FBI in its 1988 "sting" operation. That raid led to the conviction of state Senator Joe Montoya and the indictment of former Senator Paul Carpenter. A former Nolan aide has already pled guilty as a result of the FBI sting. Nolan's potential troubles are legal, not elective.

DISTRICT 42 (39% D - 51% R) — Democrat: Evelyn Fierro of South Pasadena. Republican: Incumbent Richard Mountjoy of Arcadia. Libertarian: Scott Fritschler of San Gabriel.

An overwhelming GOP district centered around Arcadia and including the cities of San Marino, Azusa and Irwindale. Mountjoy is a six-term incumbent who won't be bothered much by Fierro, a member of the South Pasadena City Council.

DISTRICT 43 (55% D - 35% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Terry Friedman of Sherman Oaks. Republican: Gary Passi of Sherman Oaks. Libertarian: Andrew Rotter of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: John Paul Lindblad of Sherman Oaks.

Posh Beverly Hills, Studio City, Topanga Canyon and Woodland Hills provide a safe playground for Terry Friedman.

DISTRICT 44 (60% D - 29% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Tom Hayden of Santa Monica and Alex Cota of Los Angeles. Republicans: Fred Beteta of Santa Monica and Gloria Stout of Pacific Palisades. Libertarian: Rebecca Donner of Santa Monica. Peace and Freedom: Timothy Burdick of Los Angeles.

Cota has challenged Hayden before in Democratic primaries; two years ago, he garnered over 6000 votes. Hayden, of course, collected some 42,000 votes. On the GOP side, Stout is back for her third try against Hayden, having run 24,000 votes behind in 1986 and 30,000 votes behind in 1988. Her primary opponent, Beteta, is a Santa Monica College trustee. The true significance of this race for Hayden: It is his first run for office sans *Jane Fonda. Fortunately, he no longer needs her millions.*

DISTRICT 45 (59% D - 29% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Burt Margolin of Los Angeles. Republicans: Robert Davis of West Hollywood and Elizabeth Michael of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Owen Staley of Los Angeles.

Republicans Davis, a swimming pool contractor, and Michael, a businesswoman, vie for the right to lose to Margolin come November.

DISTRICT 46 (59% D - 28% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Mike Roos and Sal Genovese. Republicans: Geoffrey Church and Howard Watts. Libertarian: Michael Everling. Peace and Freedom: Dan Robrish and Robert Taves. All of Los Angeles.

Sal Genovese challenged Roos two years ago and came up just a teensy bit short. Like, say, 74 percent *short.*

DISTRICT 47 (81% D - 11% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Teresa Hughes and James Hunter Jr., both of Los Angeles.

Teacher James Hunter Jr. gets a lesson in realpolitik *come election day.*

DISTRICT 48 (84% D - 10% R) — Democrats: Marguerite Archie-Hudson, Robert Farrell and Rod Wright of Los Angeles, and Evelyn Wells of Lynwood. Republican: Gloria Salazar of South Gate. Libertarian: Jose Castaneda of South Gate.

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This seat has been held since 1976 by Maxine Waters. But Waters is taking her high intelligence and brassy style to Washington where — barring some stunning upset — she will succeed Gus Hawkins in the Congress. Her successor will be determined in the Democratic primary where Archie-Hudson has a leg up thanks to an early endorsement by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. She has been able to raise money on her own,

Archie-Hudson

Farrell

Wright

and Brown's blessing will probably allow her to tap the Sacramento spigot as well. Her most formidable challenge will come from Farrell, a member of the Los Angeles City Council, who has wide name recognition and a strong fund-raising base.

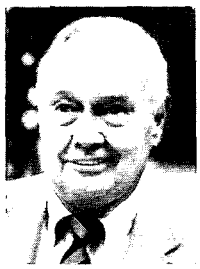
DISTRICT 49 (73% D - 19% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Gwen Moore. Republican: Eric Givens. Both of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Carin Rogers of Playa del Rey. Peace and Freedom: Alice Mae Miles of Los Angeles.
Moore beat Givens by 56,000 votes in 1988 despite having her Capitol office raided by the FBI as part of its "Shrimpscam" sting operation.

DISTRICT 50 (71% D - 16% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Curtis Tucker Jr. of Inglewood. Peace and Freedom: Michael Long of Los Angeles.
"... Where the flyin' fishes play ..."

DISTRICT 51 (37% D - 52% R) — Democrat: Marilyn Landau of Torrance. Republican: Incumbent Gerald Felando of San Pedro. Libertarian: William Gaillard of Redondo Beach.
Felando survived a tough election in 1988 — not a tough general election but a tough primary where he was challenged by Deane Dana III, son of the Los Angeles County supervisor. 1990 should be a breeze.

DISTRICT 52 (42% D - 48% R) — Democrat: Gary Neely of Diamond Bar. Republicans: Wil Baca, Jim Baker, Ken Manning and Paul Horcher of Hacienda Heights, Jack Dortignac of West Covina, Wayne Grisham of Norwalk, Phil Mautino of Whittier and Tony Russo of La Mirada.
A wide-open primary made possible when former incumbent Frank Hill was elected to the state Senate in April. None of the eight Republicans lined up to replace Hill has leapt to the fore. One candidate looks familiar, if a little shopworn: Wayne Grisham, a veteran officeholder, represented the 63rd Assembly District from 1984 to 1988, when he was defeated by Democrat Bob Epple. Prior to that, Grisham served two terms in Congress. Although he has been elected to a number of state and local posts, Grisham is not noted as a strong campaigner — a problem that probably cost him a special state Senate election in 1987 and his own Assembly reelection in 1988. Still, Grisham bears strong name recognition. His most formidable challengers are Horcher, a member of the Diamond Bar City Council, two members of the Hacienda Heights improvement association — Baca and Baker — Mautino, Russo and Manning. Baker, however, has hamstrung himself by refusing to accept campaign contributions until after the primary. That puts him at a distinct disadvantage against Horcher, who has pumped nearly $100,000 of his own money into the campaign and hired veteran consultant Harvey Englander to manage his race. Mautino, a well-known attorney in the Whittier area, also has used a large chunk of his personal fortune. Russo, a former aide to Grisham, is said to be underfunded. Manning's campaign is being run by GOP poohbah Stu Spencer, and he's been endorsed by the likes of Bill Dannemeyer, Ed Royce and Gil Ferguson, as well as by three local mayors. The most curious element of this race, however, is the Democrat — Gary Neely of Diamond Bar. Neely has been endorsed by the California Teachers Association, plus the usual assortment of area Dems: Charles Calderon, Mike Roos, Ed Edelman. But Neely also has been endorsed by — of all people — the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, which pumped $5000 into his primary campaign. Given the 48 percent GOP registration, the district seems solidly Republican. But then there's that curious Jarvis endorsement for Neely.

Baca

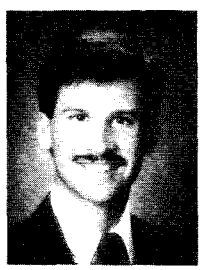


Grisham

Horcher

Manning

Mautino



Russo

DISTRICT 53 (60% D - 29% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Dick Floyd of Gardena. Republican: Kevin Davis of Lawndale.
Republicans haven't yet been able to blast Dick Floyd out of this district, even with forged letters purporting to be from Ronald Reagan. Davis, a business executive, doesn't have enough dynamite either.

DISTRICT 54 (65% D - 28% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Willard Murray Jr. of Paramount and Fred Baisley of Lakewood. Republicans: Emily Hart-Holifield of Compton and David Howard of Bellflower. Libertarian: Arthur Olivier of Bellflower. Peace and Freedom: Norman Lynn of Compton.
Murray should brush aside his primary challenger, registered nurse Fred Baisley. And although this district was represented by a Republican from 1984 to 1986, the registration figures are just too daunting for the GOP to make a real run at Murray. Unless, of course, they see a bit of daylight in Murray's reputation as a lightweight legislator.

DISTRICT 55 (66% D - 23% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Richard Polanco. Libertarian: Dale Olvera. Both of Los Angeles.
"... An' the dawn comes up like thunder ..."

DISTRICT 56 (75% D - 15% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Lucille Roybal-Allard of Los Angeles.
"... outer China 'crost the Bay!"

DISTRICT 57 (61% D - 29% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Dave Elder and Ed Musgrave. Republican: Rodney Guarneri. All of Long Beach.
A strong Democratic district that includes the harbor district of Los Angeles and Long Beach. Elder traditionally garners nearly 70 percent of the vote.

DISTRICT 58 (39% D - 50% R) — Democrats: Joel Bishop and Luanne Pryor, both of Long Beach. Republicans: Sy Alban, Jan Hall and Jeffrey Kellogg of Long Beach, Tom Mays and Peter Von Elten of Huntington Beach. Libertarian: Scott Stier of Long Beach.
Dennis Brown is another conservative Republican incumbent who decided to call it quits in 1990, leaving his seat to whomever emerges from what could be an interesting and hard-fought Republican primary. The field is studded with local elected officials, including Long Beach Council members Jan Hall and Jeffrey Kellogg and Huntington Beach Mayor Tom Mays. Hall is a pro-choice candidate. Mays is very conservative and has served as a legislative aide to Assemblyman Nolan Frizzelle. He's short of cash, however, which could pose a problem in a well-heeled field. Developer Peter Von Elten has

Kellogg

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Mays

Von Ellen

raised a lot of early money and published glitzy brochures promoting his service with the Army in Vietnam. He's said to be an aggressive campaigner, as well. Sy Alban is an orthopedic surgeon backed by the California Medical Association, which has been known to pony up a buck or two for its favored candidates. Alban, 65, has raised more than $30,000, plus his own resources, and is stressing the fact that he is a non-politician. The Democrats don't really matter here, so systems analyst Joel Bishop and public-relations executive Luanne Pryor are competing for pride.

DISTRICT 59 (62% D - 29% R) — Democrats: Xavier Becerra of Monterey Park, Bill Hernandez of Pico Rivera, Marta Maestas of Montebello, Diane Martinez of Monterey Park and Larry Salazar of Montebello. Republicans: Steven Kipp of Monterey Park and Lee Lieberg of Alhambra. Libertarian: Steven Pencall of Alahambra.

Incumbent Charles Calderon has moved on to the state Senate, replacing Joe Montoya in the 26th District. That leaves his Assembly seat up for grabs in what could be a donnybrooke Democrat-

Becerra

Maestas

Martinez

ic primary. Calderon is backing his district administrative assistant, Marta Maestas, who also got the endorsement of the state Democratic convention in April. But election will be no easy walk for Maestas. She'll be pushed somewhat by Deputy Attorney General Xavier Becerra. And she'll be pushed a lot by Diane Martinez, daughter of one of the area's congressmen — Marty Martinez. Martinez is an elected official in her own right as a member of the Garvey District School Board. She's picked up some Democratic endorsements, as well, notably from Assembly members Dick Floyd and Terry Friedman, and from Congressman Mel Levine. Bill Hernandez also has some name recognition as a member of the Rio Hondo Community College District governing board. If Maestas can raise enough money to publicize her endorsements, she should win. But voter turnout traditionally is low in this district, so who wins may depend on which campaign runs the best absentee voter drive and is best able to get its supporters to the polls on election day. The GOP here is an afterthought.

DISTRICT 60 (60% D - 30% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Sally Tanner of El Monte. Republican: Ron Aguirre of West Covina.

Sally Tanner has held onto this district through six elections, and despite daunting registration figures, Republicans every once in a while make a run at her. The reason Republicans hope for an upset is the district's large Latino population and, for the past three elections, the GOP has recruited a Latino. This time, it's Ron Aguirre, an administrator for the city of West Covina. In 1986 and 1988 it was El Monte City Councilman Henry Velasco. In '86, he gave Tanner a scare but two years later was stomped. The difference was money — in 1986 he had it; in 1988 he didn't. Now comes Aguirre with thoughts of an upset. Aguirre, whose father lost an Assembly race to Alex Garcia 18 years ago, expects to spend $250,000 and may get fund-raising help from an unexpected source — the Republican National Committee in Washington. The RNC, says Aguirre, wants to attract Latinos into the party and is willing to commit resources and money to selected districts around the country.

DISTRICT 61 (39% D - 50% R) — Democrat: Raynolds Johnson of Yucca Valley. Republicans: Incumbent Paul Woodruff of Redlands and Dennis Johnson of Highland. Libertarian: Delvin Harbour of Lucerne Valley.

Dennis Johnson is the mayor of Highland, which gives him wide name recognition in that part of the district. Unfortunately, Highland covers about 3 percent of the district. Woodruff wins.

DISTRICT 62 (41% D - 50% R) — Democrat: Selma Calnan of Covina. Republican: Incumbent Bill Lancaster of Covina.

Lancaster's 10th term seems assured.

DISTRICT 63 (56% D - 36% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Bob Epple. Republican: Diane Boggs. Both of Downey.

Bob Epple won the closest election of 1988, a 100-vote squeaker over former Assemblyman Wayne Grisham that wasn't decided until weeks after the election. Grisham has moved off to run in another district (see District 52), and Epple's challenger is Downey City Councilwoman Diane Boggs, who has a reputation as a giant-killer in local races. Coming off a close election in 1988, Republicans will be taking a long look at this district after the primary.

DISTRICT 64 (35% D - 55% R) — Democrat: Kevin Gardner. Republican: Incumbent Ross Johnson. Both of Fullerton.

A perfunctory challenge to the Assembly's GOP poohbah who routinely wins his district by 50,000 votes. No, Johnson's problems will not surface in Fullerton but in Sacramento where disgruntled members of his own caucus routinely make noises about dumping him as minority leader. A poor showing by the GOP in other Assembly races could cost Johnson his top spot.

DISTRICT 65 (40% D - 51% R) — Democrat: Bob Erwin of Chino. Republicans: Jim Brulte of Ontario and Mark Nymeyer of Pomona.

Incumbent Charles Bader is another in the list of Assembly members interested in moving up to the Senate; he's challenging incumbent Democrat Ruben Ayala in November. The winner of the Brulte-Nymeyer race will replace him next January. Brulte has a solid Republican credentials, dating back to 1981 when he served on the Washington staff of former U.S. Senator Sam Hayakawa. He also served on the staff of the Re-

Brulte

Nymeyer

publican National Committee in Washington, at the Defense Department during the Reagan administration, and as an advance man for then-Vice President George Bush. Since 1987, he has served as chief of staff to the man he hopes to replace — Bader. Nymeyer is a Pomona City Councilman who should make this an interesting race. Early line: Brulte.

DISTRICT 66 (55% D - 36% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Jerry Eaves of Rialto and Joe Baca of San Bernardino. Republican: Steven Hall of Fontana.

Two years ago, Jerry Eaves represented the most vulnerable member of the Gang of Five, and Assembly Democrats loyal to Willie Brown made an all-out effort to knock him out in the primary. Their tool was Baca, a trustee for the San Bernardino Community College District. The resulting campaign was an ethical morass, topped off when Baca forces faked an endorsement from U.S. Senator Ted Kennedy. Although Baca is back for another try at Eaves, the situation has changed. For one, the Gang of Five rebellion is over, and Eaves is once again back in the fold. Without resources from other Assembly Democrats, Baca's chances are slim. Even with those resources, he finished 3500 votes shy of Eaves in 1988. Still, there is history to consider. Democratic voters in this district once before ousted an incumbent in a primary — in 1984 when Terry Goggin lost to none other than Jerry Eaves.

DISTRICT 67 (31% D - 59% R) — Democrat: Fred Smoller of Orange. Republican: Incumbent John Lewis of Yorba Linda.

Since last he went before voters, Lewis was indicted for his part in forging former President Ronald Reagan's signature on GOP campaign literature. The indictment was dropped after a court decision said this kind of political shennanigan didn't meet legal definitions of forgery. Chances are the Lewis legal troubles won't affect his political fortunes in this very Republican Orange County district.

DISTRICT 68 (54% D - 38% R) — Democrat: Incumbent Steve Clute of Riverside. Republicans: Clay Hage of Moreno Valley and Terry Holbert of Banning.

Democrats always worry about Steve Clute, but he always emerges with a narrow, if expensive, victory. This election should prove much the same as Republicans have once again made Clute a target. Both GOP candidates are known in

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the district: Hagel is active in Moreno Valley where explosive growth over the past few years has pushed the population above 100,000; Holbert is on the Banning City Council. Clute may also be handicapped by Proposition 73 rules which ban transfers of campaign cash among candidates. Never known as a strong fund-raiser, Clute has relied on other Democratic incumbents for large chunks of his war chest. He must provide that money for himself now. Of course, his GOP opponent won't be able to rely on Assembly Republicans for his money, either. There promises to be a lot of electoral activity in the Riverside area thanks to the Ayala-Bader Senate race and another expected challenge to the area's veteran, liberal congressman, George Brown. That heightened activity also could focus more attention on Clute's race.

DISTRICT 69 (31% D - 56% R) — Democrat: Jim Toledano of Costa Mesa. Republican: Incumbent Nolan Frizzelle of Fountain Valley.
Sisyphus will get that rock to the top of the hill before lawyer Toledano will knock off Nolan Frizzelle.

DISTRICT 70 (27% D - 62% R) — Democrat: Howard Ader of Laguna Hills. Republicans: Incumbent Gil Ferguson and Phyllis Badham, both of Newport Beach.
Badham. Sound familiar? She is the daughter of retired Congressman Bob Badham, who represented this area in Washington until 1988. She hasn't raised much money to date but does have contacts thanks to her father. Attractive and 30ish, she is a professed pro-choice candidate so Orange County voters will have plenty of contrasts to mark the two candidates. Ferguson, one of the Assembly's most bedrock conservatives, has made a career out of bashing Tom Hayden. Badham probably needs much more money than she can raise to knock Ferguson off.

Badham

Ferguson

DISTRICT 71 (41% D - 50% R) — Democrats: Peter Mathews of Cypress and Richard Polis of La Palma. Republican: Incumbent Doris Allen of Cypress.
Polis is a La Palma city councilman; Mathews is a professor of government at Cypress College who has been endorsed by the head of the district Democratic Party and by the California Teachers' Association. Allen is a four-term incumbent often at odds with her own caucus in the Assembly. Democrats express cautious optimism that they may be able to ambush Allen in November, but those registration figures alone seem mighty daunting. Between the two Democrats, Polis would seem to have the edge, thanks to his name identification.

DISTRICT 72 (53% D - 38% R) — Democrats: Tom Umberg of Garden Grove and Jerry Yudelson of Santa Ana. Republican: Incumbent Curt Pringle of Garden Grove.
The real battle in this district will come in November as Republicans go all-out to defend Pringle, whom they consider their Number One defensive target for 1990. The reason is clear: Pringle won this seat by a handful of votes in 1988 and was later slapped with charges that his campaign hired poll guards to intimidate Latino — and mostly Democratic — voters. He is being sued by one of the Democratic candidates (Yudelson) because he used campaign funds to defend the poll-guard incident in court. On the Democratic side, Umberg would seem to have the edge. A former U.S. attorney, he fits what is essentially a moderate-to-conservative district.
Look for fireworks as the election season heats up.

DISTRICT 73 (40% D - 50% R) — Democrat: Ray Strait. Republican: Incumbent Dave Kelley. Both of Hemet.
Strait is a writer and teacher. Kelley is an incumbent.

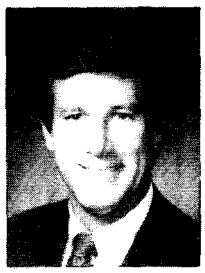
DISTRICT 74 (31% D - 56% R) — Democrat: Jerry Franklin of Oceanside. Republican: Incumbent Robert Frazee of Carlsbad. Libertarian: Mark Hunt of Vista. Peace and Freedom: Mary Rico-Webber of Oceanside.
Jerry Franklin is another in what seems to be a long list of government teachers running against incumbents in overwhelmingly safe districts.

DISTRICT 75 (33% D - 52% R) — Democrat: Dede Alpert of Del Mar. Republicans: Incumbent Sunny Mojonnier, Fay McGrath and Stan Rodkin, all of San Diego, and Ronnie Delaney of Del Mar. Libertarian: John Murphy of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Vi Phuong Huynh of San Diego.
Mojonnier drew a large crowd of primary challengers, which is probably her salvation. None of the other candidates has much name identification, nor can any one of them raise enough money to pull away from the pack. Thus, a crowded field — where a lot of candidates split the votes — gives the edge to the one candidate known to many. In this case, it's Mojonnier.

DISTRICT 76 (32% D - 55% R) — Democrat: Steve Thorne of Escondido. Republicans: Incumbent Tricia Hunter of Escondido and Connie Youngkin of Poway. Libertarian: Bill Holmes of Escondido. Peace and Freedom: Renate Kline of Spring Valley.
Given that Hunter won this seat as a pro-choice Republican, it was inevitable that pro-life advocates would challenge her. Youngkin is just such an activist. But she can't win as a one-note candidate.

DISTRICT 77 (37% D - 50% R) — Democrat: Thomas Connolly of El Cajon. Republican: Incumbent Carol Bentley of San Diego. Libertarian: Joel Denis of La Mesa. Peace and Freedom: Arthur Edelman of San Diego.
Bentley nearly got herself elected to the state Senate last year, losing out to Lucy Killea in a highly-publicized race that turned on Killea's pro-choice stance on abortion. Sometimes, losing a try for higher office can hurt an incumbent. But not this time.

DISTRICT 78 (46% D - 41% R) — Democrats: Judith Abeles, Bud Brooks, Mike Gotch and Howard Wayne. Republicans: Jeff Marston, Jane Ramshaw and Helen Rowe. Libertarian: Ed McWilliams. Peace and Freedom: Bob Bardell. All of San Diego.
This race is a two-fer: On election day, voters will decide between Gotch and Marston in a special election to fill the vacancy left when Lucy Killea moved over to the Senate. They will also vote in the primary. Both Democrats and Republicans are confident of winning the special election and giving their candidate a leg-up on November, which will surely be a rematch. Gotch is a widely known ex-city councilman who some observers thought might win the primary outright (by garnering more than 50 percent of the total vote). Instead, his vote total was behind that of Marston, who was helped by the fact that his two primary opponents dropped out of the race before the election. They also will not compete in the primary, although their names remain on the ballot. Republicans think they will eventually win the seat because voter registration favors them, and because Marston ran well in a city council district once represented by Gotch. Democrats discount what appears to be a GOP registration asset because Democrat Killea traditionally won the district.


Gotch

Marston

DISTRICT 79 (58% D - 30% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Pete Chacon, Celia Ballesteros and John Warren. Republican: Roger Covalt. Peace and Freedom: Dennis Terrill. All of San Diego.
Peter Chacon has served in the Assembly since 1970, and this perhaps is his greatest challenge. It is reported that he has been targeted by pro-choice activists who have placed their fortunes behind Ballesteros, a former city councilwoman.

Ballesteros

Chacon

Assembly Democrats are concerned about this primary, because pro-choice forces have been known to turn out the volunteer troops and cause all kinds of trouble for targeted candidates. Still, the presence of Warren hurts Ballesteros due to the old rule of thumb that incumbents survive when challenged by two or more in a primary. Republicans will wait and see how badly Chacon is beaten up in the primary before committing resources and money to unseating him in November.

DISTRICT 80 (51% D - 37% R) — Democrats: Incumbent Steve Peace, Robert Garcia and Darrel Vandeveld, all of Chula Vista. Republican: Kevin Kelly of Spring Valley. American Independent: Lenny Bell of San Diego. Libertarian: Randy Myrseth of National City.
Peace has two Democratic challengers who virtually guarantee that he wins his primary.

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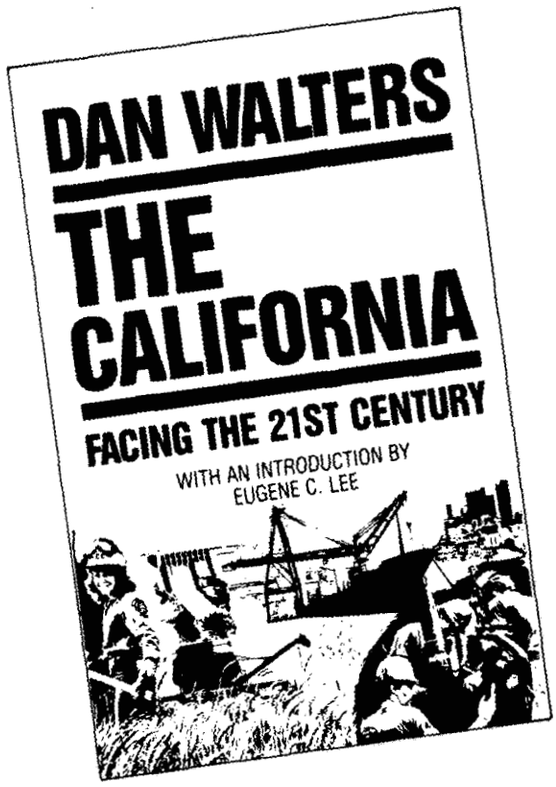

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with an introduction
by Eugene C. Lee

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Campaign finance revisited

In June 1988 California voters approved two changes in the state's campaign-finance reporting laws. Receiving the larger number of votes was Proposition 73, an initiative sponsored by Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of La Habra, Senator Quentin Kopp, an independent from San Francisco, and former Senator Joseph Montoya, a Whitter Democrat. Proposition 68 was sponsored by a number of citizen groups and would have established a system of public financing for election campaigns.

The major features of Proposition 73 place a limit on the amount that can be given to any one candidate and prohibits the transfer of money from one candidate to another. The measures immediately became embroiled in a number of lawsuits and the effects of the various provisions of both measures on actual campaign practices have changed substantially during the past two years.

The comments below update the sixth edition of the *California Journal*'s "Campaigning in California: A Practical Guide to State and Federal Election Finance Laws." Both that edition and this update were prepared for the *Journal* by the law firm of Nielsen, Merksamer, Hodgson, Parrinello & Mueller, California's largest political and government law firm, under the direction of partner Charles H. Bell Jr. Copies of the sixth edition are available from *California Journal*.

PROPOSITIONS 73 AND 68 UPDATE

Q: *What has happened since Proposition 68 and 73 were adopted?*

A: Since the enactment of Propositions 68 and 73 by the voters, 12 lawsuits have been filed and five have been completely resolved. The Fair Political Practices Commission (FPPC) has enacted or amended 25 separate regulations, and has issued three opinions and approximately 150 advice letters concerning the application of the two measures. Despite the fact that at least three major lawsuits are pending and their resolution could portend major changes, the basic rules of Propositions 68 and 73 are fairly settled and relatively straightforward, as summarized below.

Q: *Have the basic contribution limits of Proposition 73 changed?*

A: No. Proposition 73 limits contributions to candidates at all levels including candidates for statewide, legislative and local offices. Local jurisdictions may enact or keep lower contribution limits for local races.

The Proposition 73 limits permit persons, including individuals and business entities, to contribute up to $1000 per fiscal year to any candidate. Narrow-based political committees may contribute up to $2500 per fiscal year to any candidate, and broader-based political committees and political parties may contribute up to $5000 per fiscal year. Under Proposition 73 persons and entities may contribute $2500 per fiscal year to committees that support candidates directly, including political parties. This $2500 per contributor limit on receipts applies to all committees that make contributions to candidates, whether the committee is broad-based or narrow-based.

Q: *Does Proposition 73 limit "independent expenditures"?*

A: No. The Proposition 73 scheme does not limit independent expenditures or contributions to committees that make independent expenditures. Nor does it limit contributions to committees that use the funds for any purpose other than making contributions to state or local candidates. Proposition 73 also permits any person to contribute an unlimited amount to maintain a political committee or political party to pay for expenditures for such items as overhead, personnel or fund-raising expenses.

Q: *Can ballot-measure committees continue to accept unlimited contributions?*

A: Yes. Ballot-measure committees are not subject to any Proposition 73 limits. Candidates may contribute their campaign funds to other committees if those committees do not support other candidates. The FPPC is now considering whether a ballot-measure committee controlled by a candidate may make contributions to a *candidate.*

Q: *What are the rules regarding "membership communications" as "contributions" under Proposition 73?*

A: A federal court injunction has permitted unions, membership organizations, and political parties in coordination with candidates to engage in communications supporting those candidates to their members. The expenditures for these communications are exempt from the Proposition 73 contribution limits, a major opening in the limitations scheme.

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Q: *Have any of the Proposition 68 contribution limits been given effect?*

A: No. Proposition 68's contribution limits have not been given effect. However, a major lawsuit in the California Supreme Court will determine whether several "aggregate" contribution limits and a ban on "off-year" fund raising by legislative candidates and political parties will be given effect and meshed with Proposition 73's provisions.

Q: *Is the Proposition 73 ban on transfers still in effect?*

A: Yes, with some important modifications. Proposition 73 prohibited transfers of funds between one candidate committee and another at any level (state or local) and also prohibited a candidate from transferring money between his own, different controlled committees. Another major lawsuit challenged these provisions. A decision is pending in the federal court on the issue of transfers between candidates. The court already has ordered that candidates may transfer money without limit between their own committees.

In keeping with the court decisions, the FPPC does not permit transfers between candidates, except that ballot-measure committees controlled by different candidates may transfer funds to other ballot-measure committees controlled by other candidates. The FPPC permits this on the assumption that such committees will not be used to campaign for the candidates' election in circumvention of the Proposition 73 limits.

Q: *Is there still a prohibition on the use of "old money" for candidate support?*

A: No. Proposition 73 barred candidates, political committees, and political parties' candidate-support committees from using funds and assets on hand as of June 8, 1988, for support of candidates. After the FPPC permitted the use of some of these funds for the candidate's campaign, a state court enjoined the FPPC regulation and more recently, a federal court struck down the entire statute. The current state of the law is that all "old funds" can be used for candidate support.

Q: *Do "independent expenditures" have special disclaimer requirements or notification requirements?*

A: Yes. As noted above, Proposition 73 does not limit independent expenditures to support or oppose candidates or limit contributions to committees that make such expenditures. However, Proposition 68 requires disclaimer notices on independent expenditures involving mass mailings supporting or opposing legislative candidates and also requires special public notification of such expenditures.

Q: *How has the FPPC interpreted the Proposition 73 provisions on gifts and speaking fees?*

A: As interpreted by the FPPC, Proposition 73 limits the payment of fees ("honoraria") to elected public officials for speeches, articles or published works *related to* the governmental process to $1000 per calendar year from a single source. Proposition 73 does not put an overall limit on gifts (other than such speaking fees) to *any* public official. The Proposition 73 limit on speaking fees does not include payments for necessary travel-related expenses in connection with such speeches.

Q: *What criminal penalties apply to violations of the Political Reform Act?*

A: Proposition 68 contained enhanced criminal standards and penalties for all violations of the Political Reform Act, and in particular, for violations of Proposition 68's contribution limits. After the FPPC ruled that the new penalties conflicted with Proposition 73 and would not be made effective, a state appellate court upheld the penalties and even extended them to apply to the Proposition 73 contribution limits. The matter was appealed to the California Supreme Court which will decide this issue. At present, none of the enhanced criminal penalties or standards are in effect. However, as under pre-Proposition 68 law, a willful and knowing violation of the Political Reform Act may be prosecuted as a misdemeanor.

Q: *Is taxpayer (public) financing of campaigns still barred by Proposition 73?*

A: Yes. Proposition 73 barred direct public financing of campaigns. Thus far, this public financing ban has been upheld in both lower court cases. The effect of the ban upon charter cities and counties is in litigation. At present, Sacramento County is the only jurisdiction which publicly finances any elections and it has sued to protect its public-financing ordinance. The Sacramento County public-financing ordinance is being enforced at present for the 1990 local election.

Q: *How has the Proposition 73 ban on publicly funded mass mailings been interpreted?*

A: Proposition 73 contained a broad ban on mass mailings sent at public expense. Fearing an overbroad interpretation would be unconstitutional, the FPPC adopted an emergency regulation permitting most public mass mailings but barring mailings if they "featured" elected public officials. The regulation has been amended twice and was recently upheld by an appellate court. Any proposed publicly funded mass mailing should be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. Production of material paid for by the public that is used in secondary private communications is also barred in some instances.

Q: *Do any of the Proposition 68 expenditure limits apply to California campaigns?*

A: No. Proposition 68 included limits on campaign expenditures by candidates for legislative offices. Because the constitutionality of such limits depended upon the enactment of public financing of campaigns, these limits were invalidated by the Proposition 73 ban on public financing.

Q: *What can be expected in the near future?*

A: The FPPC believes most of the key Proposition 73 regulations have been adopted. This is correct. However, new issues will arise that involve either the interplay between Proposition 73 and the other provisions of the Political Reform Act or particular applications of Proposition 73.

Of course, pending court cases may also: reinstate and graft the restrictive Proposition 68 aggregate contribution limits onto the Proposition 73 scheme; cut major holes in the Proposition 73 scheme itself (perhaps reviving some of the Proposition 68 provisions previously found to be in conflict with Proposition 73); or even revive the harsh, strict criminal liability provisions of Proposition 68. Any of these results could unsettle the current equilibrium, particularly if they become applicable to the 1990 elections.

Also, ballot measures either in circulation or qualified for the June 1990 ballot may place additional limits on gifts and honoraria. Ethics legislation now pending in the Legislature may also effect changes in this area.

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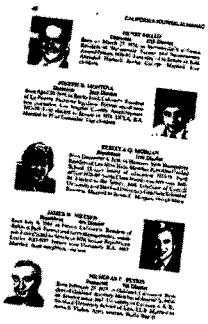

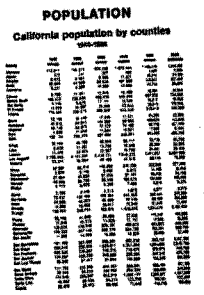

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Mike Masaoka remembers when he was something of a trailblazer in Washington, back in the 1950s.

"When we got started, Japan had very few advocates and they couldn't get people to work for them," said the Japanese-American who was one of the first paid lobbyists representing Japanese interests as that country rose from the ashes of World War II.

THESE DAYS, MASAOKA STILL REPRESENTS clients that include the Japanese embassy and the Japan Telescope Manufacturers' Association. And he is a senior statesman among a legion of lobbyists who protect the interests of Japan and Japanese businesses.

"Now, they have these people who have worked for the [U.S.] trade office, the State Department and Congress," Masaoka said. "The Japanese have been so damn successful, not only in selling the American market but getting people to represent them."

Although Canada is still the biggest trading partner with the United States, Japan has the most registered foreign agents — 117 at last count, according to the Justice Department's Foreign Agents Registration Unit. The list only includes those who meet the narrow definition of lobbyists for Japanese interests. It does not even count think tanks subsidized by the Japanese, for example, or the U.S. subsidiaries of Japanese corporations.

"Every Japanese company that invests over here develops constituencies — suppliers and customers, lawyers and people who do business with them," said Clyde Prestowitz, a former Commerce Department expert on U.S.-Japan trade. "And they really put the arm on them."

Nor is the sheer number of Japanese lobbyists what really counts. The roster is especially impressive in its clout and connections. To name a few:

• The powerhouse public-relations firm of Hill and Knowlton represents Japanese clients ranging from the Nintendo video-game makers to Sanwa Bank. The law firm of former U.S. Trade Representative and Democratic power broker Robert Strauss represents Fujitsu. The lobbying firm of former George Bush campaign spokesman Jim Lake represents Mitsubishi Electric Corporation and the Japan Auto Parts Industries Association.

"Today, anybody who is anybody has some kind of link with them," said Pat Choate, a vice president of TRW. "They have the best sense of Washington of any group in the world. Better than any American business by far, and no one else in the world can touch them."

Is there anything wrong with such conspicuous clout? In Washington, the formidable Japan lobby is viewed with the same mix of admiration and resentment that sometimes is directed at the Israel lobby, which so effectively protects that country's foreign policy interests.

Choate, who recently completed an eagerly awaited book attacking Japan's lobbying clout in Washington, argues that it skews government deliberations on sensitive matters such as trade.

"When you have a mass purchase of influence such as that, you literally bias the whole decision-making process of the government," Choate charged. He said the Japanese have exploited to an extreme Washington's "revolving door" of former government officials who trade upon their inside connections for private gain.

Preskowitz added, "They are able to have an influence in the United States that we cannot have over there. That means that in any debate or negotiation between the United States and Japan, the American side is going to be under greater pressure internally from people who are pushing the interest of the Japanese."

But Lake defends his work and that of his colleagues in the Japan lobby with the same vigor he used to exert in serving as campaign spokesman for Bush and, earlier, for Ronald Reagan.

"We have an open system where everyone has the right to be heard," Lake said. "When all sides have an opportunity to be heard, policy-makers end up, most of the time, making the right choice."

The Japanese may have more lobbyists than anybody else, Lake acknowledged, "but they also have more people attacking them, more pressuring them, more to be concerned about than almost anyone else. It forces them to field a more aggressive defense." American resentment of Japanese investment in this country has grown particularly strong in recent months, as Japanese companies have bought up American cultural icons ranging from Rockefeller Center and Columbia Pictures to 7-11 stores. Some of the anti-Japanese sentiment has a racist tinge — heavy British investment in this country never creates a stir — but some stems from a conviction that the Japanese do not fight fair in world economic competition.

Perhaps average Californians share in the anti-Japanese feelings, but their state's government and business establishment certainly does not. Earlier this year, the California Department of Commerce held a conference in Washington where state officials touted the news that Japan had replaced Canada as the state's top foreign investor.

REFLECTING CALIFORNIA'S SUCCESS AT EXPORTS and its orientation toward the Pacific Rim, Robert Monagan, president of the state World Trade Commission, described the state's policy as "a very easy one: Let's have as much productive trade and investment as possible."

"The foreign presence in California extends well beyond capital formation," Monagan said. "California has cultural and economic ties with Asia that go back decades. Japan is our largest trading partner by far, and we are Japan's largest partner outside the United States itself."

Larry Liebert is Washington bureau chief for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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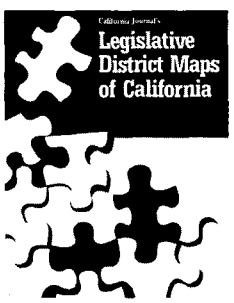

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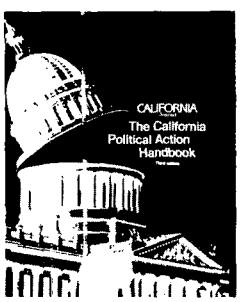

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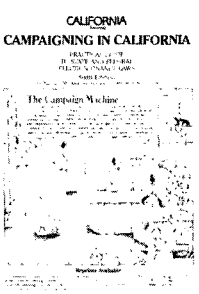

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